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Is the War Scare Over?

It has become the fashion to say that the war danger in Europe has receded. Some newspaper columnists are writing about the war scare of the spring of 1939 in historical perspective, pointing out that Americans took it too seriously, that our newspapers overplayed it and so on. We wish we could share their optimism, but we find it hard to do so. True, war does not seem imminent within a few days, but it probably never was. So far as we know nothing in the fundamental situation has changed. Chamberlain is still vacillating between appeasement and firmness. If appeasement wins, he will give Hitler piecemeal everything he wants—except the Ukraine, which he can't give away—and make more probable an eventual Russo-German war. If firmness wins, the immediate danger is perhaps lessened, though Hitler may well say that time is working against him and that the sooner he strikes the worse prepared his opponents will be. War some time within the next year or two is still fairly likely; the war scare isn't over.

Mussolini as Pacifier

Mussolini's speech of May 14 did nothing to clear the international skies. True, he said there are no unsettled questions in Europe which would justify a general war; but he did not add that Germany and Italy would abandon their ambitions rather than fight. The pacifist role fits oddly on a man guilty of the things Mussolini has done in Ethiopia, Spain and Albania. His speech was probably in the main a warning to Hitler not to rush into overt action over Danzig, and this was good advice: it is pretty clear that the Führer can have Danzig if he will take his time and play his cards well. For the rest, Mussolini continues to flirt with the democracies, for the obvious purpose of making Hitler feel that he must bid high for a continuation of the Axis. It is an old bluff, which makes little impression on Hitler, though it influences Chamberlain far too much.

Massacre from the Air

Japan, following her terrible air raid on Chungking, has bombed several other cities in the same fashion. At the same time she announces she will not permit the International Red Cross to send medical supplies to the wounded or food to the survivors. She thus abandons the last faint pretense of "civilized warfare." Presumably she hopes by this policy of frightfulness to force China to yield quickly; it is now pretty plain that the Japanese army has completely bogged down. The policy of terrorization may succeed, but the evidence is against it. In the past, campaigns of this sort have only created greater determination among the victims. "World public opinion" perhaps doesn't matter very much any more, but for whatever it is worth, and wherever it is still allowed to exist, it is now turned completely against Japan.

Reorganization Marches On

Congress is accepting President Roosevelt's second reorganization plan as easily as it did the first. The new changes are less sweeping than the earlier group. The

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National Bituminous Coal Commission is abolished and so is the National Emergency Council. The Interior Department gets the Fisheries Bureau from Commerce and the Biological Survey from Agriculture. The foreign services of Agriculture and Commerce both go to the Department of State.

What has become, you may ask, of the bitter anti-New Dealers who a few months ago were saying that reorganization was revolution, was dictatorship, was disaster? Today they accept its fruits with a smile. They were just playing politics; what they said then was false and they knew it was false. They were trusting in the famous short memory of the American public, which has saved them on so many occasions in the past, and they will probably keep right on.

Thank You, Mr. Dies

The federal income-tax files have been opened up for inspection by the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. Certain "fascist" and "communist" leaders are suspected of failure to give the government its due cut on income derived from subversive activities, and the Dies auditors are just checking up. We regard the work as invaluable. For a long time we've wondered where Father Coughlin gets the money to support his elaborate propaganda campaign. Have Gerald Winrod, George Deatherage, William Dudley Pelley and Allen Zoll been paying their obligations to Uncle Sam? And how about Fritz Kuhn and his associates? How much are they paying for the privileges of American citizenship? We have no idea that these men are not scrupulously careful about filling out their income blanks. We just wonder, and we thank Congressman Dies, in advance, for digging up the answers.

The Poor Man and His Doctor

Conservative doctors, opposing socialized medicine, make a great point of the important relationship between the patient and his personally chosen physician, who knows all about his past, present and probable future. Aside from the fact that a similar relationship is not impossible under state-aided practice, the argument has some merit, as applied to those who enjoy such a contact at the present time. But how many of these are there? It is an old story that millions of Americans have practically no medical service at all. The Committee on Research in Medical Economics recently made a study of 365 self-supporting low-income families in New York and found that two-thirds of them had no family physician. When care was needed they shifted from doctor to doctor, clinic to clinic, as much as they could possibly do under any form of socialized medicine. Even those who kept in contact with one physician did so for all sorts of reasons, at least half of them completely irrelevant to the question of his professional ability. To be sure, 365 families in forms, ranging from murderous beatings to the little

but it is big enough to suggest that the picture painted by the spokesmen for private practice is probably too rosy.

The New Order in Puerto Rico

The army and navy are about to land in Puerto Rico and already the situation is well in hand. This island in the Caribbean is soon to become a vast air and naval base, comparable to Hawaii. The two services together will spend a total of $30,000,000 at once, with more, you may be sure, to follow. Admiral Leahy is to be the new Governor. Strategically, the move is a good one; airplanes and naval forces operating from the island can protect the Panama Canal and a wide area north and south against attack from the Atlantic. When this new air and naval base is functioning completely, it could hold off an attacking force for a long time, long enough certainly to call the American fleet from the Pacific. How will the people of Puerto Rico like the new order of things? Some of them will like it, since they will be employed at good wages, and many more will share indirectly in the prosperity this vast expenditure will bring. Others no doubt will object. As for Admiral Leahy, he is a modest, conscientious and brilliant officer, who has probably been the best Chief of Naval Operations the United States has ever had. If, in the interest of national defense, Puerto Rico must be turned over to military rule, we can think of no better choice. Naturally, we should prefer a world in which such a disposition of Puerto Rico was unnecessary.

Race Laws in Hungary

There aren't any new things to say about the anti-Jewish laws recently passed in Hungary; the world's disgust must be the same that it has expressed over similar laws in Germany, Italy and their other satellite countries. The facts are that at least 300,000 Jews of Hungary's 750,000 will be affected, only those whose ancestors were Hungarian in 1848 and who became Christians before the end of 1919 being exempt. Jews will be dismissed from professions and businesses, in groups, every three months until by 1944 all have left. Meanwhile only allotted percentages will be allowed to hold positions. The average to be allowed in professions will be about six percent, in business and industries about twelve percent. Farm land in excess of half an acre owned by Jews may be appropriated by the state, with compensation. Jews may vote only for a list of Jewish candidates, and Jewish representation in Parliament may not exceed six percent. No Jews will be allowed in the public or government services, or to hold leading positions in journalism, the theatre or motion pictures. What goes with the laws, but is left unwritten, is continuous persecution in a thousand

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spirit as surely as does a concentration camp. It was no doubt a clear understanding of the fate awaiting him that caused the suicide of Dr. Dezso Kenedy, one of Budapest's most prominent physicians.

Up Arab, Down Jew

The trouble in Palestine is coming to another crisis. The British are driving ahead on their plan to create a state in which the Jews will be a permanent minority. It is expected that Jewish immigration will be limited to another 75,000—15,000 per year for five years. This of course will be ruinous to the plans of those working to get several hundred thousand Jewish refugees out of Germany and other anti-Semitic European countries in the shortest possible time. It is also expected that the Arabs will be forbidden to sell more land to the Jews. The British League of Nations mandate will be dropped, the famous Balfour declaration perhaps explicitly repudiated. The Jews are bitter at this scheme, which they rejected at the London conference in February, but it is hard to see just what they can do while a British army of occupation holds Palestine. In simple words, Great Britain will support whichever side in the dispute she thinks can be of most advantage to her. Just now, that is the Arabs, who are powerful in half a dozen other countries that are more or less under British control. Where the treasure lies, there goes the heart.

German Travel Notes

As the Nazi troops tour Europe—dropping in on Vienna one day, Prague another, moving from Memel to Madrid—their customs become better known as their itinerary expands. Recently they gave an unintentional indication of a new country they hope to visit. In the little Czech town of Schlan, only about thirty kilometers from Prague, appeared notices calling on the population to maintain order. The notices were in Rumanian.

The Rumanians must know very well by this time what kind of tourists the Nazis are. In case there are some Americans who do not, here are a few excerpts from the German-Czech phrase book carried by the troops that invaded Czecho-Slovakia (as quoted in The New York Times):

> If you lie you will be shot.
> Are the inhabitants peaceful?
> Your head is at stake.
> It is punishable by death, first, to go near the railway; second, to use the telephone.
> Are you the Mayor? Open all the cupboards. Where is the safe? How much money is there in it? Write down the amount. Have you any more money? I confiscate the money.

No More Ivory Tower

A World Congress of Writers was held the other [illegible] libel was, and of the true facts in the case. The pub-

A long list of distinguished authors, both foreign and native, participated in the discussions. The meeting was under the general guidance of "P.E.N.," which is usually regarded as a mildly right-wing group and which has tried for years to keep out of politics. But in one country after another, politics have caught up with its members, dozens of whom have been sent to concentration camps or forced into exile. The tone of the speeches at the recent congress was such that they would have been called decidedly Leftist only a couple of years ago. Democracy was applauded, fascism denounced and creative workers in the arts were called upon to play their part in rescuing the world from the darkness that threatens it.

Newspapers Hot Off the Wires

For several years, people have been talking about "radio newspapers." Machines now exist (one is shown at the New York World's Fair) which can print a paper in your own home by means of an inexpensive attachment to your radio set. Everyone has supposed that local papers or radio stations would sell these machines to householders and then distribute radio editions, probably between midnight and 6 or 7 A. M. But Herbert Moore, of Transradio Press, has a different idea. He is said to be planning a series of local newspapers all over the country which will be duplicated from an original at one central source—presumably New York. The paper will be prepared there, the master copy will be photographed page by page and these photographs will be sent by wire or radio to each of the other cities. There an edition of 15,000 to 30,000 will be printed by offset process. Each paper will have a few "fudge boxes" in which to put local news, and probably arrangements will also be made for local advertising. For such papers, the cost of production will be very low, the speed of distribution from New York enormously fast. If well edited, they will provide terrific competition for the existing small-city press.

A Law Against Blackmail

In most American states, the libel laws are so drawn that they work to the disadvantage of periodicals. There are many instances where an innocent error by a newspaper is followed by a libel suit for some vast amount. Rarely do these cases get into court and still more rarely does the plaintiff get any large sum; usually, he is seeking to be bought off with a few hundred dollars. Actions of this kind will be far more difficult in future in the state of Georgia, which has just passed an admirable new libel law, one that ought to be copied widely. Under the present Georgia statute, you cannot bring a suit for libel until you have served written notice on the publisher that you intend to do so. This notice must contain a statement of what the alleged

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If he does so, the supposed victim can still sue for damages, but he can ask for only such amounts as he can prove in court that he has actually lost. Here is a law that might well be copied in other states—and even in Great Britain.

Hague Nix in Bayonne

If our esteemed rival, Variety, had reported Frank Hague's defeat last week in Bayonne, New Jersey, it might have gone something like this:

"Bayonne, May 12

"Cool weather and ragged exploitation dulled Frank Hague's attempt Tuesday (11) to continue his stranglehold on this city's municipal politics. Hague's campaign to fill five open spots on the Bayonne city commission with his personal agents ended dismally when the local voters picked all five commissioners from the opposition 'Home Rule—Not Hague Rule' slate.

"Attendant ballyhoo was definitely not up to par. Hague's gang of stumblebums, hired to provide distracting fist-fights and corner brawls, failed (with one or two exceptions) to make even the early editions of the afternoon dailies. Election rallies just prior to opening of the polls went sour, partly because the Jersey City WPA and municipal employees, ordered to attend, sat on their hands.

"At eleventh hour Hague tried to win favor by endorsing two members of the anti-Hague slate who promptly refused to stooge for him. As a showman and variety artist Frank still retains a good deal of his former following. But his routine is dated. Local audiences today are turning more and more to the legitimate stuff."

News Notes of a Week

Britain planned to establish four large blood-storage plants in London to be used in transfusions for people wounded by aerial bombardments. The blood will be kept in refrigerators underground. Perhaps there will also be underground surgeries, laboratories and homes for the staffs. . . . Jesus Hernandez, formerly Minister of Education of the Spanish Republic, and widely reported to have been shot by Franco's forces, was safe and on his way to the USSR with other Republican leaders, including Colonel Francisco Galan. . . . President Roberto M. Ortiz decreed the dissolution of the German Nazi Party in the Argentine Republic. Other political organizations directed from abroad will get a chance to reorganize in accordance with "democratic principles." That means the Italian Fascist and Dopolavoro organizations and the Spanish Falangists.

The Senate Finance Committee was determined to help business by changing the corporation tax structure, particularly by repealing the undistributed-profits tax. That is what Senator Pat Harrison, chairman of the committee, is reported to have told President Roose-

line of Oregon longshoremen was dissolved by court order, the first major use of the state anti-labor initiative measure passed last November. Fifteen hundred longshoremen had been locked out by the Waterfront Employers' Association for their union's refusal to load the freighter "William Luckenbach," on which the Luckenbach Line had refused to reinstate three discharged men with back pay, in spite of an NLRB order to do so. . . . Our bandits are learning a lesson from Hitler. In a Harlem business office they held up and robbed 117 people simultaneously. If there had been a few more people involved, Germany and Italy might have recognized the bandits as the government of the United States.

Russia and Mr. Chamberlain

THE COMMUNIST PARTY in Soviet Russia will meet on May 25. Presumably at that time we shall hear a detailed discussion of the foreign policy of the USSR. Yet the general outlines of that policy are already reasonably clear.

In the first place, we should remember that Russia has no love for the bourgeois "democracies" in and of themselves. They are still the same countries and the same sort of governments that invaded her soil after the Great War and sought to overthrow the Soviets. If in recent years Russia has held out the hand of friendship to England and France, it is because the opposing group of powers seemed an even more pressing danger to the socialist commonwealth. If the Soviet Union fights, she will do so in her own interest and that of socialism, and not for some vague general principle of democracy under capitalism which she can share with England and France. This is all to the good. When nations fight for self-interest, you know where to find them, and they stay put. When they are animated by high and abstract and dubious ideals you can never be sure that tomorrow the ideal will not be gone, and the ally with it.

Soviet Russia has to think of an Eastern as well as a Western front. So far as the next year or two are concerned, she is probably in more peril of attack by Japan than by Germany. Incredible as it may seem to Western minds, this danger in the Far East increases as Japan's war with China encounters greater difficulties. To the Oriental it seems quite reasonable to provoke war with another formidable foe in the midst of an already doubtful struggle. Defeat incurs no loss of "face" if it results from fighting against overwhelming odds. And there might even be some chance of victory for Japan, in case Hitler decided to live up to his promise and launch a simultaneous offensive in the West. The British Tories would cheer him on. Such a conflict would be a difficult one for the USSR,

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rail communication which, though improved, is still inadequate, and no connecting highways.

In these circumstances it would be of the greatest advantage to Soviet Russia to have a firm military alliance with England and France. Such an alliance might frighten Hitler into keeping the peace, or frighten Mussolini into breaking his alliance with Hitler. If the Fascist powers still insisted on fighting, these three nations together could probably defeat them in a war of attrition which presumably would last for several years. It is absolutely imperative, however, that the Russians should know whether they can count on England and France. The betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia by these two powers was a grim lesson to Moscow. Incidentally, we have the word of the former Czech President, Mr. Benes, that Russia was prepared to live up to her agreement whether or not France had fulfilled the obligations on which it was contingent.

Chamberlain's attitude in recent weeks has been such as to make the Russians distrust him more than ever. It is true that for a few days he talked vigorously of a firm-cemented ring of those opposed to Fascist aggression. The Tory press in London suddenly blossomed out with articles saying that the Russians were not such bad fellows after all and possessed some quite English traits. But then the doubts and hesitations began once more. England tried again to detach Italy from the Axis. She could not, it was explained, tie herself too closely to Russia because the Russians are atheists and England must not alienate the Vatican and the Catholic countries. Moreover, Poland and Rumania were represented as wanting only a little Soviet help, not too much. And the haggling and horse-trading began. England wanted the USSR to guarantee the integrity of the border states without in turn receiving any guarantees of her own. The hard-boiled realists of the Kremlin naturally rejected such a plan. The next offer raised the ante a little, pointing out that Russia need not fight unless England and France did so. This proposal also seems to have been rejected. The Russians are still holding out for a firm alliance with England and France or if preferred, with Poland as well.

If they have half the brains we believe, the Russians will continue to cling to this line. They have seen what happened, while England stood by and did nothing, to China, Ethiopia, Austria, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia and Albania. They know that the British Tories hate communism far more than they do fascism; the present overtures from London to Moscow are only made because Hitler stupidly overplays his hand. Given any sort of chance, the British would still be his allies as they were before Munich. With a laggard lover, marriage is the only security. Soviet Russia cannot afford to gamble on Chamberlain's intentions. If he really means business—or if public opinion forces him to mean business—he will have to prove it to the Kremlin.

The CIO Victory in Coal

SETTLEMENT of the coal stoppage with a victory for the United Mine Workers is not merely an event that assures industrial peace in the greater part of the coal fields and removes the danger of a fuel shortage. It is a key piece of strategy in the history of the labor movement and even in national politics as well.

Just as John L. Lewis is the head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, so the miners' union is its principal pillar. The miners are more numerous than any other single organization in the CIO; they are militant and progressive; and their treasury is large. Anyone who had hopes of destroying or seriously weakening the CIO would have to reckon with the miners. That such hopes have been entertained, both by open-shop employers and by reactionary elements in the AFL, there is no doubt. William Green has been pursuing a policy of splitting established unions and causing all possible annoyance to his opponents—a policy that the CIO chiefs have not followed in relation to strong AFL unions. He has taken under his wing a seceding body known as the Progressive Miners. This body, though small in numbers and unimportant in influence, might conceivably have been built up by the favor of employers who were hostile to the established unions, and who would have used the AFL body for their own purposes by making contracts with it. It was this danger that Lewis was resolved to forestall in the recent and prolonged negotiations for renewal of the contract.

The miners have never before had either the closed or the union shop. They did not need it, since their membership was inclusive and they had virtual control of the situation without any formal agreement on the subject. But, this time, it was desired to insert such a clause in the contract in order to prevent employers from recognizing a competing organization and thus creating dissension and trouble. It has happened before this that in cases where a CIO union has had the adherence of a majority of the rank and file, an AFL union has, in collusion with the employer, shut it out by an exclusive contract. The National Labor Relations Board has, it is true, attempted to safeguard the workers against this type of coercion just as it has safeguarded them against "company unions"—but the AFL wants the Labor Act amended to prevent the Board from acting in such cases. This is one of the principal points of disagreement between the CIO and the AFL, and nobody could be sure that Congress would not so amend the law as to make this kind of chicanery possible. Therefore Lewis wanted to win his victory on the industrial field. He has done so, and has thus ended any hope of a successful attack on the UMW by the AFL or by the employers who are using the labor split

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The conferences between the AFL and the CIO to settle their differences and seek unity were temporarily interrupted by the coal negotiations. This was partly because of the demands on Lewis' time and attention—but also because the issue of the UMW's control had to be settled before the negotiators could be sure of their ground. Lewis could not make peace with Green in the conference room while Green was maneuvering in the field to disrupt the miners' union. Now the peace conferences can be resumed in a healthier atmosphere.

The victory of the UMW may also abate somewhat the controversy over the Labor Relations Act. There can be no doubt that the principal motive of those who wish to modify the Act is to weaken the CIO, either in the interest of the AFL or in that of reactionary employers. But any chance of weakening the CIO is rapidly vanishing. The miners have won a great victory of prestige. None of the attempts to disrupt the CIO in other industries has met with success. The AFL diehards will have to recognize the CIO as an established fact, and nothing but such recognition will ever bring peace by agreement.

Republican Test Tube

WISCONSIN, long a laboratory for social and political innovations, is now the testing ground for the "new liberalism" of the Republican Party. Anyone who wants to know how the Republicans will act in Washington if they win in 1940 has only to watch what's happening in Madison for a pretty clear indication. Governor Julius P. Heil and his legislature of Republicans and reactionary Democrats have already succeeded in establishing their own brand of labor legislation, and are showing what they think about Wisconsin's civil service and her educational system.

The first anti-labor bill passed was an amending measure to the state labor code of 1931, a model code—the first adopted by any state—on which the Norris-LaGuardia Act was based. The amendment prohibits secondary picketing, restricts labor disputes to the employer and a strict majority of his employees, and prohibits strikes or picketing by minority groups. After this came the "Employment Peace Act," repealing Wisconsin's Labor Relations Act of 1937, the "little Wagner Act." It redefines unfair labor practices in such a way that labor calls it frankly the "company-union bill," and it replaces the old administration board with a new one to be chosen by Governor Heil, presumably from among liberals like himself. It had the backing of the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture, but it is encouraging to report that two of the Council's largest affiliates, the Wisconsin Coöperative Milk Pool and the Midland Wholesale Coöperative, left the Council because of its anti-labor attitude.

in the legislature it might be just possible that an alliance between farm organizations and labor could prevent the passage or cause the modification of some of the bills now pending. They include measures to require the licensing of labor organizers and union business agents, and to require labor organizations to report financial and membership statistics to the Secretary of State. If these proposals become law they may do even more damage than those already passed.

The attack on the civil service began with a measure permitting the discharge of state employees for reasons of "efficiency" or "economy," under a system allowing secret hearings and verbal reports to Governor Heil. Reorganization moves of different sorts are apparently being used to break the morale of the service, as a number of administrators and technicians have already submitted resignations. It is considered likely that the teachers' tenure law passed during a previous administration will be repealed.

So the list of backward steps lengthens. A cut in the appropriation for Wisconsin's great state university—which has a record enrolment this year—is expected to be made as an "economy move." The Workers' School at the university is regarded with great suspicion by the Republicans as a Red center; perhaps it will get no appropriation at all. The funds that gave life to Phil La Follette's "little TVA" for rural electrification and municipal ownership of public utilities have been cut off and it survives only as a skeleton. Yet despite all these cuts Heil has run his spending up to figures that may be a record for the state. (His campaign promise was to cut the budget from 15 to 20 percent.) The rumor is getting around that, in spite of official denials, a sales tax will be used to make up the deficit. With progressive measures being smashed one by one, and the average man paying more than before in taxes, the picture of "liberal" Republicans in action would seem to be complete.

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If War Breaks Out Tomorrow

The Strength and Strategy of the European Powers

IN MAKING A MILITARY ESTIMATE of the confused European situation as it appears today—the evening of May 10, 1939—it will be necessary to begin with certain assumptions, otherwise there will be no possibility of arriving at even tentative conclusions.

These assumptions will be that the opposing camps may, respectively, be considered as including:

1. Axis Powers: Germany, Italy, Hungary, Spain.

2. Stop-Hitler Alliance (hereinafter referred to as the Allies): Great Britain, France, Poland, Rumania, Greece, Turkey.

While examining the European strategical scene on the above basis, some examination will be given to the changes in the military situation which might be brought about by:

1. The intervention of Soviet Russia on the side of the Allies.

2. The inclusion of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the Axis.

The positions of Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal and other small states will be remarked upon in the course of the discussion.

Numerical comparisons of military strength are best stated in terms of divisions, which are fully organized battle-units of infantry, artillery and auxiliary branches. Special types of divisions (cavalry, mechanized, etc.) will be separately mentioned. Air power may be roughly compared by numbers of first-line airplanes of all combatant types actually ready in operating squadrons, with separate mention of reserve planes. It must be pointed out that neither of these methods of comparison is fully satisfactory, as many other factors, which there is not space to consider, enter into correct military estimates.

The armies of Europe, as of March 1, 1939, were composed as follows:

	First-Line Units			*Reserve Units*
	Divisions	Cavalry Divisions	Armored Divisions	Divisions
Germany	49	3	4	38
Italy	46	3	..	35
Hungary	7	1	..	?
Spain	21	1	1	?
Total Axis	123	8	5	73
France	32	4	2	40
Britain	4	1	2	12
Poland	30	5	1	30
Rumania	24	3	..	22
Turkey	22	3	..	18
Greece	13	1	..	10
Egypt	3	..	..	?

NOTES

Germany: Units in course of formation not included (1 division, 2 cavalry divisions, 8 reserve divisions).

Italy: Size of division has been recently reduced, and numbers consequently increased. Old figures are given, as these afford better comparison. Cavalry divisions are partly composed of armored troops. Libya included, but not East Africa.

France: North Africa included, but not other colonies.

Turkey: Two reserve cavalry divisions not included.

Britain: Indian army and Dominion forces not included.

Thus the Axis powers dispose of 209 divisions of all types, and the Allies 282. The geographical distribution of these forces is highly important. Of the Axis divisions, 177 are concentrated in Central Europe, facing 91 French and British divisions in the west, and 60 Polish divisions in the east. To the southeast, the three Balkan countries of the Allies have 116 divisions, those of Rumania being separated from the others. The Spanish forces represent an Axis detachment to the southwest. In North Africa there are six Italian divisions, facing an equal number of French divisions on the west (who must, however, also consider a Spanish-Moroccan force of uncertain strength) and on the east the British garrison of Egypt plus the Egyptian army, which may in sum be counted as three divisions.

While it is difficult to estimate the value of untried troops, it may be assumed that the French, the British first-line units and the war-hardened Spanish forces rate among the best; in the next category, for various reasons, may be placed the Germans, the Poles and the Turks; below them are to be ranked the Italians and Hungarians; and the Rumanians and Greeks below these. But there are many exceptions to such a classification—thus, the Italian Alpine divisions are as good as any mountain troops in Europe; a few of the German divisions on which special care has been lavished are equal to any French divisions; the Polish horse cavalry is probably unmatched by any similar force. In making the above classification, the four factors of armament, leadership, morale and training were chiefly considered.

Air forces may be estimated as follows:

First-line planes in operating squadrons: Germany 4,000; Italy 2,400; Hungary 100; Spain 300. Total Axis, 6,800. Britain 2,600; France 2,000; Poland 900; Rumania 500; Greece 200; Turkey 300. Total Allies, 6,500.

First-line reserve planes: Germany 4,000; Italy 600; Spain 100. Total Axis, 4,700. Britain 1,300; France none; Poland 400; others, 200. Total Allies, 1,900.

Maximum monthly replacement rate on a war foot-

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1,350. Britain 600; France 200; Poland, 50. Total Allies, 850.

Thus an initial advantage in first-line planes of about 7 to 5 can be maintained and even bettered by the Axis powers at present. But this is not the whole measure of their air superiority, since the French air force is severely handicapped by its high percentage (about 60 percent) of obsolete planes. Moreover, the Rumanian and Greek air forces must not be counted on too strongly. The factors of training, leadership and morale can be summed up by saying that as going concerns for more than twenty years, the British and French air forces probably have an edge on the German.

In the naval field, if the fighting power of the British navy be considered as represented by 10, then, roughly, the French navy might be represented by 4, the Italian by 3 and the German by 1½. Here the advantage in favor of the Allies is overwhelming; though it does not extend into all classes of vessels, notably submarines—in which class the Axis powers have approximately 175 units, the Allies approximately 150. Also to be considered is the moot question of how far aircraft, by menacing naval dockyards and other establishments, by their ability to harass naval forces operating in narrow waters such as parts of the Mediterranean and the English Channel, and by the possibility of their use in attacks on merchant shipping, have altered the old conditions under which sea-power was exercised. In the general factors of efficiency, etc., the British and German navies rank very high, the former probably in the lead; the French navy is also very good, ranking well ahead of the Italian.

In the distribution of naval forces, the British Mediterranean Fleet and the French fleet (now concentrated in the western Mediterranean) are each superior to the Italian fleet and can control both ends of that sea. The British Home Fleet forms a sort of general reserve, being so heavily superior to the Germans as to possess a high degree of freedom of action. However, German and Italian submarines working from Spanish ports can be a serious menace to vital British trade routes; and if convoy be adopted as the most useful answer to these operations, the fast German capital ships (which can destroy any British or French cruiser and run from the greater number of the capital ships) can be a terrible menace to convoys and their escorts. In running these vessels down, the activities of the only Allied capital ships which could catch them (the three British battle-cruisers and the two French battleships of the "Dunkerque" class) would be fully employed.

It is, however, in the immediate threat of a Mediterranean blockade to Italy that the crux of the naval situation is to be found. Italy, deficient in coal, iron, petroleum and other indispensable materials, and able to feed her population only in good harvest years, is forces—90,000 men in Libya, 40,000 in the Dodecanese, 60,000 plus native troops in East Africa and 35,000 in Spain—would be immediately cut off from the homeland on the outbreak of war. To suppose that aircraft and submarines could control such far-flung lines of maritime communication, except perhaps as to Libya, is to indulge in illusions.

Allied control of the oceans would make it possible to bring resources, both in men and supplies, from every part of the British and French Empires, and from neutral countries in so far as the latter were willing and able to assist in this way; while the Axis powers, from the very outset of the war, would be dependent entirely upon Continental resources.

In order to restore this situation, it would seem necessary for the Axis to attempt to restrict the operations of the Allied fleets by land operations—to conquer, as Napoleon put it, the sea by the land. For this purpose, the Mediterranean must be the major theatre.

Mediterranean Theatre.—The Axis plan might include three objects: Egypt, controlling the eastern exit of the Mediterranean; Gibraltar and Tangier, controlling the western; and the Dardanelles, the only other major exit of the great sea, and the main route to Russia and Rumania.

Egypt is menaced in the west by the Italian forces in Libya, which outnumber the British-Egyptian defense forces about two to one, but must advance over most inhospitable desert terrain. She is also menaced in the south by a possible attack from Ethiopia and Eritrea, where there is a large Italian army, while the defense forces of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan are less than 10,000 men. Ethiopia, however, is an unstable base because of the dissident native population. Reinforcements from India can reach the Red Sea with reasonable promptness, while there is little chance of Italy being able quickly to reinforce Ethiopia. Italian aircraft (300) in Ethiopia, plus Italian submarines in the Red Sea, might interfere with the arrival of these reinforcements, but the British fortress and air base at Aden still commands the southern entrance to the Red Sea and is out of reach of Italian attack save by air, unless Italian machinations among the tribesmen of Yemen have been more successful than is now believed to be the case.

Gibraltar is menaced by the large and efficient Spanish army, reinforced by Italian and German legionaries and aircraft. It has a decided element of weakness in the lack of space for an airport, though the fortifications are strong. In Spanish Morocco there is a considerable force of Axis troops, largely Moroccan soldiers who have fought in Spain. These might take Tangier without much trouble, and already hold Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar. That they could maintain themselves, however, for long, against the attack of the

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attracting the attention of a large part of that army, they might weaken the defenses of Tunisia, or, conversely, the pressure to be brought by the French against the western frontier of Libya in the case of an attack on Egypt by the garrison of Libya.

The use by Allied troops, airplanes and naval vessels of Portuguese bases might be of great help both in the defense of Gibraltar and in operations having to do with the running down of Axis raiders. Portuguese assistance might indeed be the decisive factor in Allied operations intended to take Spain out of the war.

The Dardanelles might be attacked either from the Dodecanese Islands or, more likely, overland, from Albania through Macedonia and Thrace. If Bulgaria assisted, the danger might be considerable. Yugoslavia's attitude might be decisive of Bulgaria's, since without Yugoslavia as an ally or benevolent neutral, Bulgaria is sadly isolated and exposed to attack both from north and south. If the Dardanelles fell into the hands of the Axis, Rumania's position would be hopeless, and Russia's principal channel of exterior communication would be cut. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Turkish army is a hard nut to crack, and that the British fleet will control the waters of the eastern Mediterranean while it continues to possess a base there.

Eastern Theatre.—Here the chief combatants are Germany and Poland. A German attack on Poland would probably be directed at two points: at the Corridor and at the Silesian industrial area. Later, if successful, these two forces might combine in a two-direction advance on Warsaw. Or, Germany might—if Poland's friends abandoned her as Czecho-Slovakia was abandoned—be content with these gains, having reduced Poland to economic vassalage by cutting her off from the sea and depriving her of her principal industrial assets. The Poles could not, probably, defend the Corridor for any great length of time, as there is no satisfactory defensive position there. In the south, German possession of Slovakia outflanks the Polish fortifications, and the Beskids are not a serious military barrier. Poland could fight a long, delaying war, but unless helped, she could not alone hope for victory against Germany. The decisive factors in her case would be (1) the amount of pressure brought on Germany elsewhere by the Allies; (2) the possibility of getting aid, especially in the air and in the domain of munitions and supplies, from Soviet Russia.

Western Theatre.—While striving in the east to overwhelm Poland, the Germans might assume the defensive as to France, using a force largely composed of reserve divisions, plus their fortifications. Against the full weight of the French army, they might hope to hold here for some weeks; but not by any means attack on Holland or Switzerland to outflank the Maginot line (which no German general in his senses will attack directly) must be considered; but the Swiss in their mountains are a formidable foe, and the inundation system which is part of the defenses of Holland is likewise no simple military obstacle. Moreover, such an attack would preclude a great campaign in the east, since it must be the major objective if attempted; and since the German frontier is no more easily defensible against Poland than vice versa, the risks of a German offensive in the west appear to outweigh the probable gains.

On the Franco-Italian frontier, the configuration of the Alpine passes (converging toward Italy from France, and with a comparatively shallow mountainous zone on the Italian side as against a deep one on the French side) favors the invasion of Italy from France, while vastly increasing the difficulties of the reverse procedure. A French offensive against Italy would present excellent chances of success, save as it might be interfered with by air attacks from Italy and Spain upon its communications and concentration points.

France's principal naval preoccupation would be to keep open her line of communications with her African possessions, from which she draws men and supplies. These also would be much interfered with by a hostile Spain, and especially by the Balearic Islands base. An Allied attack on the Balearics would almost certainly be among the first operations to be undertaken.

Indeed, so severely would a hostile Spain interfere with Allied communications and hamper France by a threat on a third frontier (even though a trans-Pyrenean invasion of France is as little likely as a trans-Alpine one) that the reduction of Spain might well be among the early Allied preoccupations.

Air Operations.—The Axis air superiority would certainly be used to full advantage. In the Mediterranean, the Italian air force would operate against Allied shipping, and in attacks on Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar or other objectives necessary to support surface forces. The great French naval ports of Toulon and Bizerta, and the commercial port of Marseilles would suffer severely. The industrial regions of northern Italy and the Italian naval base at Spezia would certainly be the objects of Allied retaliation.

But the principal air force of the Axis is the German, and the question in all minds is whether this force would be ruthlessly employed in an "all-out" attack on London and other British cities in an endeavor to bomb the British people into submission by "breaking the civil will." It is possible; but it would be such a terrific gamble, the price of failure being the decimation of the most formidable striking force of the Axis in a vain attempt, that it seems more likely that the German air force would be used (1) to attack military

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tories, second navy yards and seaports (especially the great London docks); (2) to hinder the concentration and advance of the French army and the crossing of the British army to France; (3) in support of surface forces in Poland.

The British air force will operate, as to fighter squadrons, in defense of British soil; as to bombers, largely from French bases against objectives in Germany. It must, however, be remembered that for geographical reasons if no other, Britain is far more vulnerable to air attack than Germany is.

Conclusion.—The principle of attacking "*du fort au faible*" laid down by Marshal Pétain will doubtless rule the Allied strategy. This would seem to indicate first the elimination of Spain, then a terrific assault on Italy (weakened by blockade as she would be), finally an encircling attack on Germany. Applied to Germany's situation, the same principle would lead to the elimination of Poland, then a turning in full force to the west, leaving such forces as might be needed to assist the Hungarians against Rumania. Here the attitude of Russia might be decisive; that of Yugoslavia might determine the fate of the Balkan end of the campaign.

It is obvious that Poland may find herself in much the same situation as Belgium in the last war—that is, a sacrifice to occupy the Germans while her Allies are getting ready: on this occasion, by crushing Spain (in which Portugal's aid would be highly important) and preparing to crush Italy. It is hard to feel that Italy, in the military sense, is other than a source of weakness to Germany; as it seems certain that, like Austria-Hungary last time, she will very shortly be demanding rather than giving aid.

Time will be everything to Germany: and her strategists may well consider that unless her air operations, coupled with attacks on British shipping, can so hamper and delay the Allied movements and inflict such losses upon them (both physical and moral) as quickly to swing the balance, she is doomed. It is in such thinking (the essential underlying idea of the "*Blitzkrieg*") that the greatest danger to the people of London lies. On the other hand, aside from the risk of losing their chief weapon without compensating gain, the Axis may properly consider the effect on neutral and especially American opinion of such a procedure as the butchery of thousands of innocent persons of all ages and sexes.

The balance of victory seems inclined toward the Allies. Certainly it will be if the war becomes prolonged and they are able to bring into play their world-wide resources. It would seem to the interest of the Axis powers to gain time, to gain more sources of raw materials (their chief weakness), to win more vassals by their policy of blackmail without fighting.

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

Does Chamberlain Mean Business?

ADOLF HITLER charges that Great Britain has come to regard Germany as her enemy. In a sense Hitler is right. In the airports around London, the pilots of the pursuit planes must spend the night seated in their machines. On the warships in English ports, the crews of the anti-aircraft guns muster after dark at their stations. Every ministry has made its arrangements for the event of war: some have burrowed deep underground, others have prepared quarters in Bristol or Glasgow to which they will migrate. Newspapers and business houses have also made their dispositions for a general dispersal, and for every London school child transport and a refuge in the country are ready. All this means that England at last does regard war as an event for which she must prepare in earnest. What she actually expects is a surprise attack by German bombing planes.

The really decisive evidence of this new attitude was the introduction of what one might describe as a "token" measure of conscription. Calling up 200,000 boys in their twenty-first year for six months' training will make no perceptible change in a European balance

tance. It was only in the second year of the World War, with disaster staring this island in the face, that Mr. Asquith dared to depart from the voluntary principle. The anger of the Labor Party and the embarrassment of the Liberals is evidence enough that Mr. Chamberlain took a risk when he ventured to resort to this modest form of the draft in a time of nominal peace.

The Liberals, as so often happens, are sharply divided in their reactions, and Labor is not in fact so fierce as it sounds. It can advance some technical arguments that carry a certain weight. Boys of this age are not the appropriate material to use for such sedentary tasks as the manning of anti-aircraft batteries. And it is doubtful whether in the present confusion of industry their equipment can be supplied without long delays. But the reluctance of the Labor Party springs in reality from an individualistic outlook that belongs to the Liberal heritage of this party, and not to its Socialist creed. Its utterances in the press and on the platform express a dislike of compulsion on the ground that it is somehow "undemocratic" and even "fascist." The plain truth is that whatever it may say, the Labor Party has not yet

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possibility occurred to it that if war should come it may, for the first time in English history, end in defeat. When the risk is realized the Labor Party will not be content to enter on the struggle with the greater part of England's manhood untrained.

The proper strategy for the Labor Party in this situation would have been to offer its hearty consent to conscription on certain conditions. But it had debarred itself from adopting this line by its previous unconditional collaboration in the industrial details of rearmament and in the doubling of the Volunteer Territorial Army. The Labor Party does call for "conscription of wealth," by which it means specifically a levy on capital. But it missed the chance of demanding, since England is facing war as the dominant fact in her outlook, that industry and agriculture as a whole should be placed at once under purposive and creative control. For five years such control has existed in Germany with military preparedness as its sole objective. In this measure there might lurk a danger to democracy, not because young men will be compelled to serve, but because they will enter a class army, whose officers are drawn mainly from the upper strata of society. An army so commanded could be used to back a usurpation of power by a government with totalitarian tendencies. The safeguard on which the democratic Left should insist is plainly that all promotion should be by merit from the ranks. But the chief condition an alert Opposition should receive from any government imposing conscription is evidence of its real will to resist further aggression. That means in plain words that it should conclude an open alliance with the Soviet Union and France for mutual defense.

Is this government in earnest in its will to resist, and has it shed its illusions over "appeasement"? One cannot forget the humiliating return of the British Ambassador to Berlin, nor the formal recognition of the annexation of Albania. Mr. Chamberlain impresses this observer as a man engaged in a slow and reluctant retreat. He concedes conscription in principle, but calls up only the youths of a single age-class. He names a Minister of Supply, but chooses a nonentity for the post, limits his functions severely and arms him with no adequate powers. He will extend his protection to Poland, Rumania and Greece as isolated units, but he will form no closely knit coalition for mutual defense, and as yet he hesitates to embrace the Soviet Union unequivocally as an ally. Before what is he retreating? Before the facts or before public opinion? It is difficult to be sure, for he is a cold man with an inveterate habit of understatement. None the less, slow and inadequate though his movements may be, there is an evolution of policy. It was French insistence which chiefly moved him to concede a minimum dose of conscription. But have the facts finally convinced him of the

The position, so far as I can ascertain it, is as follows. The approach to the Soviet Union began with a proposal made through the British Ambassador in Moscow, that if Poland or Rumania were attacked, Russia should undertake to supply them with arms and munitions. Mr. Litvinov then made a bold counter-proposal. He proposed the immediate conclusion of a general alliance among Russia, Britain and France, to be implemented at once by conversations among the General Staffs. He did not ask that it should apply to the Far East. It would, however, operate alike in the West and in the East European field. Russia, in other words, would be involved to the full extent no less if the war began with a German attack on the West —a term which now includes Holland, Belgium and Switzerland as well as England and France—than if it began with an attack on Poland or Rumania.

This was very much more than Downing Street had contemplated. The value of such an alliance would largely depend in either event on the readiness of the Poles to allow the Red Army to operate on their territory. The Russian plan is, in fact, a general system of collective security, which would work successfully only if each member of the Western and Eastern groups undertook to make common cause with each and all of the others. The Russian reasoning is that an alliance among the three great powers must be the foundation of any reliable preventive system. Without this, the weaker nations will behave as in fact they are behaving: they will balance and compromise, fearing that by relying on the possibly inadequate backing of London and Paris, they may provoke Berlin without really ensuring adequate protection for themselves.

The British "plan," on the other hand, bears all the marks of improvisation. First, after the occupation of Prague, a guarantee was offered to Poland. Then, when Albania was annexed, London at the urgent request of Paris, threw its shield over Rumania and Greece. Approaches were made to Turkey, which under her present leadership feels herself closely bound to the Soviet Union. The weakness of this scheme is its inorganic character. Poland, for example, would be involved if a direct attack were made by Germany on England, but apparently not if England went to war to resist an attack on Holland, Greece or even Rumania. The deterrent effect of such an arrangement is incomparably less than that of the Russian proposal, since it leaves to the Axis the hope of purchasing the neutrality of some of England's associates, who will be bound, and then only in certain conditions, to her but not to each other. But the chief weakness of British strategy is that it makes no full use of the gigantic man-power of the Soviet Union. If the Poles and Rumanians really prefer the risk of being overrun by the Germans to the unpleasant prospect of welcoming the friendly aid of a Russian army, a strong government in London would bluntly tell

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The effectiveness of the Russian plan as a preventive turns on the dread that German soldiers feel of a war on two fronts. So long as the Reichswehr retains any influence over German policy, it will not permit even an omnipotent Führer to set it this task. That is the meaning of Hitler's anger at the prospect of "encirclement." That term means, in plain words, an alliance between London and Moscow. When that is solidly concluded, the dike can be closed that will contain the Nazi flood. It will then be possible to contemplate negotiation, whether by conference or through diplomatic channels, over disarmament, economic problems —including markets and raw materials—and such detailed grievances as the status of Danzig. Today no negotiation is possible while the rattling of sabers drowns every appeal to reason.

What blocks the way? Primarily the suspicion of Moscow that Chamberlain lacks even now the firm will to resist. It suspects that he still cherishes the intention to detach Italy and appease Germany. On the British side the reluctance of the governing class to call in the aid of Communist power may be based largely on the fear of the influence it would exert on a settlement after eventual war. What Downing Street actually says is that it dare not antagonize Japan, Spain and Portugal by embracing Russia too closely. Such excuses make the worst possible impression on Moscow. That is the background of the dispute over reciprocity and equality obligations.

Reduced to concrete terms Russia's anxiety turns first on the exclusion of the Baltic states from the system of guarantees. Any attack by land or sea would probably follow the Baltic route. To leave the passageway unguarded is, in Russia's view, an invitation to Hitler to use it. The Baltic states may fear to challenge Germany by accepting Russian protection but their hesitations would vanish if they were asked to join a coalition based on England, France and Russia.

In the second place, the USSR thinks no defensive pact will have much value unless completed by detailed military conventions. It must be clear from the beginning when and to what extent Russia's aid shall be rendered. If for example Poland, overestimating her own strength, chose to wait until half her territory was overrun before asking for help, it might arrive too late. Unless Russia's views are met on these two essentials it is highly improbable that she will accept the British proposals. The best hope is that Halifax and Potemkin may reach an understanding at Geneva, but even then the influence of the former on the Premier must not be exaggerated. Chamberlain's tone in his May 11 speech suggests that nothing has changed: he still hovers between appeasement and resistance.

London H. N. BRAILSFORD

After the New Deal

II: *The Legacy of the New Deal*[1]

LET US ATTEMPT to summarize the more significant activities of the New Deal on the basis of their results—something that now may be done a little better than it could in the confusion of earlier action. And let us relate these results to a few simple and general standards—purposes which, whether the New Dealers actually entertained them or not, furnish admitted criteria for success or failure in safeguarding a democratic and progressive social order.

Let us suppose, therefore, that those put in charge of affairs at the bottom of the great depression had been clearly instructed by the American people to seek the following general ends:

1. To increase as much and as rapidly as possible the production and consumption of goods and services. This implies, of course, such things as more employment, more opportunity, higher real incomes. It also implies the avoidance of downward reactions.

2. To alter in the direction of greater equality the distribution of the goods and services that are produced.

Now let us suppose that those who received these instructions had been able, like the general staff of an army, to work out a coördinated and systematic strategy for achieving their objectives. They would have to proceed on a certain basic assumption—namely that they could not gain their ends by direct commands to produce more or distribute differently. Ours is an economy characterized by the fact that the amount of production and its distribution are chiefly dependent on money in one way or another. The trouble does not primarily concern physical ability to produce and consume. We have more natural resources, more productive equipment, more technical skill and more working and managerial staffs than at present we know how to utilize. The amount of money, the rapidity of its circulation, the nature of its division among classes, groups and individuals, the valuations in monetary terms of goods, services, profits and capital—these are the major factors with which one has to deal in any attempt to manage

[1] This is the second of three articles which consist of extracts from lectures delivered at Yale University in January, 1939, as the Storrs series. Under the general title, "The Economic Constitu-

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here, of course, in the inclusive sense of all the instruments that we employ for media of exchange or measurement of values.) Our strategy board would, therefore, have been justified in setting up the following four classifications for the kinds of measures it would have to recommend:

1. Measures having to do with the sources and availability of money.
2. Measures having to do with the volume of the flow of money.
3. Measures having to do with the valuation of goods and services.
4. Any miscellaneous measures not included in the above classifications.

In a monetary economy, the first necessity for increasing production and employment is naturally to see that there is enough money available. At the depth of the depression, the springs of the money supply were choked. Banks were closed; many persons who owned money were hoarding it. The first action of the new administration was to tackle this difficulty. Confidence in the banks was restored by political action, including the general closing, the assurance of the President that none would be opened that were not sound, the enactment of deposit insurance, and laws introducing reforms into the banking system itself. Then came a series of measures designed to increase the total supply of money. The President was given powers to take gold out of circulation and to revalue it, to augment the amount of money by various other devices, some of which he has never used. The policy of the Treasury and of the Federal Reserve authorities was directed toward increasing bank reserves, reducing interest rates and otherwise making money available for circulation. These measures were successful in their immediate objective. The banks have held reserves far in excess of legal requirements. Interest rates have been low. The power to issue additional currency has been almost unlimited.

It has been feared that the greatly enlarged base for the issuance of money implied a danger for the future by making possible a disastrous inflation. In the effort to create enough money, we had perhaps created too much. Those who anticipated immediate trouble of this kind were of course mistaken. We have not had inflation, or come anywhere near having it. Inflation is characterized by a rapid rise in commodity prices which brings exorbitant profits to producers and traders and injures those with fixed incomes or salaries or wages. The immediate activating cause of this rapid rise in prices is a demand for goods and services which is greater than the supply. This excess of demand over supply can occur only when money keeps moving rapidly into circulation at a time when stocks of goods are low and productive facilities are almost fully occupied. recovery and prosperity. Money has not moved rapidly into circulation and our productive capacity has been far from strained. It is still possible that, if and when we do approach a new peak of production and full employment, we shall find that we have too much money and that it is flowing into circulation too rapidly. That crisis, however, still seems far away. And at least we have established some techniques for discouraging monetary expansion by Federal Reserve action in increasing reserve requirements, in selling instead of buying government securities and in raising rediscount rates. Government expenditures and borrowing may also be reduced.

Next we come to the second category—measures having to do with the flow and distribution of money. The increase in the available supply of money did not in itself lead to sufficient utilization of it. How does this utilization take place? Customarily, by private borrowing from the banking system, directly or indirectly. Business concerns borrow money to finance production and trade—to pay wages and buy materials, to extend credit to their customers. Or money is borrowed by them to increase productive facilities. It used to be supposed that capital issues are bought solely out of savings rather than being financed by an expansion of bank credit, but this is not true in a period of rapid expansion. If money is simply diverted from current consumption or from savings deposits to purchase of capital issues, there can be no enlargement in monetary circulation. Finally, individual consumers themselves are the recipients of credit. None of these processes was stimulated to a sufficient degree as a result of the increased supply of money early in the New Deal. Many business men did not want to borrow for the purpose of expanding trade or increasing plant and equipment, because they did not have enough advance orders and did not anticipate much increase in sales. Many who did want to borrow discovered that, in spite of the low interest rates, their credit was not considered good. Some who succeeded in borrowing did so, not to expand activities, but simply to clear old debts and substitute new ones for them.

In the process of stimulating the flow of money the government intervened, as it had also done to increase the supply. It did so by borrowing large amounts—mainly from the banks—and spending the proceeds in various ways. Thus, the potential bank credit that was not borrowed and spent by private business and individuals, or could not be used directly by them, was in part channeled into circulation by governmental action.

The activities under this category were in part successful, but not so completely effective as those having to do with increasing the supply of money. The ups and downs of business activity since 1933 may be almost exactly paralleled by the increases and decreases of governmental spending of borrowed funds. It is, for in-

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fiscal policy that the sharp depression of 1937 was accompanied by a complete cessation of deficit-spending by the government. Many people still do not understand that, from the economic point of view, the federal budget was balanced in 1937. The government took in more money in taxes than it paid out to the population—it even retired some outstanding indebtedness. Two changes contributed to this result—first, a diminution in spending; second, collection of a large sum in taxes under the new Social Security Act—much more than was currently distributed to its beneficiaries. The depression of 1937 is what we may expect, under existing conditions, the moment the federal budget is balanced. As soon as the government began to spend out of borrowed funds again, we began to experience the subsequent revival.

The spending-borrowing policy, then, was successful in compensating for part of the lack of private borrowing and spending. But it has not been successful as a means of stimulating a sustained movement of private debt expansion, capable of continuing when government deficits cease. Pump-priming works as long as we keep priming the pump, but fails as soon as we stop pouring water in. There is a leak somewhere.

It is possible to identify at least the location of this leak. The kind of recovery brought by government spending activates the industries making and distributing goods intended for the individual consumer—such industries as textiles, clothing, automobiles. To some degree, but not fully, it increases production in the industries making capital goods for use in the construction projects financed by the government. But it has not encouraged a sufficiently large flow of new investment to keep these capital-goods industries going. The mainspring of a capitalist economy—expansion of new productive capacity and long-term investments—seems not to be wound. Therefore, private enterprise does not carry on when government enterprise is diminished.

Governmental intervention was not confined to providing a sufficient supply of money and helping to distribute it. It is not enough, to maintain a capitalist order, that money should be available and should be started on its rounds. There may be stoppages in the channels through which the money flows about our economy. If there were not, economic activity probably would not have slowed down in the first place. Or, to speak ethically, some groups may receive too little and others too much. Attention to this aspect of the general problem comes under our third category—measures having to do with the valuation of specific goods and services. For it is prices, profits and wages that constitute the valves in the system of monetary circulation.

Why is it important to attend to these valves? A few familiar examples will indicate the sort of problem that are depressed, or even fail to expand, it is because the consumers cannot buy all they would like to have. A particular industry may suffer, to be sure, because its product is not really wanted, but this cannot be true of all industries at once, as long as the population has unsatisfied wants. And which of us has not? Depression in consumers'-goods industries therefore argues either that a great many potential customers do not receive large enough wages, salaries, or income from raising crops (if they are farmers), or that the prices of the goods offered for sale are too high. The problem of increasing sales and production is clearly one of raising incomes of consumers on the one hand or reducing prices on the other, or both. Another example is the action of the potential investor of capital. Suppose he is considering building a house for rent. He will do so if he finds that the difference between the rent he receives and the expenses of building and owning the house offer him sufficient profit (provided, of course, he can get the necessary loans at all). But if the cost of building materials and labor, plus finance charges, taxes, and so on, are too high in relation to the probable rental income, he will not build. The problem here is to establish a sufficient margin between costs and prices.

The New Deal did increase rates of wages, first through the NRA, then by the wages-and-hours law which eventually succeeded it. The same result was indirectly aided through the laws which made it easier for labor to organize and win collective bargaining. The effect of these increases in rates on the purchasing power of the workers as a whole and hence on the activity of industry, agriculture and trade was severely limited, however, by the fact that employment did not sufficiently increase at the same time. The purchasing power of those who had jobs did grow, but there were still far too many without jobs.

As for the farmers, the attempt to increase crop prices was made indirectly by the limitation of output. Here the problem was complicated by a free competitive market and the existence of unsalable surpluses of important crops like cotton, wheat and tobacco, which have depended to a considerable extent on foreign demand. Deliberate crop limitation was for a time aided by drought. Then it was hampered by a Supreme Court decision and by good growing weather. Finally, it was interrupted in important cases by the natural tendency of farmers themselves to raise as much as possible, especially when prices rise. The experience of this endeavor leads to certain broad conclusions. Crop limitation, when it can be achieved under the difficult existing social and natural conditions, does raise crop prices. If the demand does not decrease much with higher prices and increase much with lower prices, crop limitation can bring a larger income to farmers through an elevated price. But in the case of commodities like meat

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price is low, crop limitation with resultant higher prices may so diminish the demand as to fail much to affect the growers' total income. In this area the effect on the farmers was similar to the effect of higher wage rates on wage-earners whose employment was not sufficiently enlarged.

Attention was also directed to another possible obstruction, in the practices of business enterprise. Neither wage-earners nor farmers, in their ordinary state of relatively free competition against thousands or millions of their fellows, exercise much control over the prices they receive or the output they give. Combination or governmental assistance is necessary even to make the attempt. But business enterprise, at least in certain sectors, long ago achieved techniques for doing just this. Actual, overt monopoly exists in a few cases. In far more, the bulk of the production is controlled by a relatively few concerns which normally compete little with one another on a price basis. Prices are fixed in advance for definite periods, and action on prices conforms, with little variation, to the decisions of the leaders. There are "codes of ethics" or informal understandings, or dozens of other methods of control.

The action of the New Deal in relation to the prices and output of industrial goods has been confused and relatively ineffectual. At first the President talked as if all prices ought to rise, and the codes of fair competition under the NRA actually did have the effect of stiffening the prices and restricting the output of many manufactured products. This may have contributed to the failure of production and employment to increase more than they did. Railroad rates have been lowered and raised. With the passage of time, the opinion has gained ground that industrial prices, and especially the prices of durable capital goods, ought to be lowered. Pressure in this direction has been exercised on steel, on utility rates through the TVA and other competition, and on prices generally through the reciprocal trade treaties which have reduced tariffs. A few prosecutions under the anti-trust laws have been undertaken. The whole subject is now being investigated by the Temporary Economic Committee.

Methods of taxation are also important in affecting prices and incomes. Here the New Deal has done relatively little by way of innovation. Under the New Deal, a larger proportion of governmental revenue has come from taxes on sales and the like than formerly. This is especially true in states and municipalities. The federal government itself weighted the scales heavily in this direction by the adoption of social-security taxes on wages and payrolls. The effect has undoubtedly been somewhat to retard sales and employment.

The New Deal has also slightly increased income-tax rates, and has introduced a new tax on undistributed income. Its purpose is to equalize their tax burden with that of businesses owned by individuals or partnerships. It is doubtful whether these changes have much retarded the investment of new capital, except in the case of small and rapidly growing corporations.

On the whole, confusion still reigns in the sphere of the third category. Not only has the action taken been less effectual in accomplishing its purposes than the action under our first two categories, but the theory concerning what specifically ought to be done, even if a way were found for doing it, has been full of contradictions and pitfalls. Is it true, for instance, that each of us as a consumer, with an interest in low prices, is the enemy of each of us as a producer, with an interest in high prices? If so, an attempt to better the general economic well-being by manipulating prices looks like an attempt to lift ourselves by our bootstraps.

A similar contradiction appeared in the business attitude toward prices. A natural impulse of a business which is losing money is to widen the margin between costs and profits, and to do so by raising prices of the product on the one hand and reducing or holding as low as possible wages and the prices of material on the other. It is cogently argued that business will not produce except when lured by the bait of profits, and that a satisfactory profit margin is the essential condition not only for the expansion of production and employment, but for the enlargement of capacity by new capital investment. But it is often discovered, when this course is followed, that for the ultimate consumers the policy of high selling prices and low outgoing payments means inability to buy. The result is slack sales and the lack of incentive for expansion. Thus any profit in terms of direct costs is eaten up by large overhead expenses due to idle capacity. What is the clue to this puzzle? Obviously, the New Deal has not found it; the problem of so adjusting prices and incomes that production and consumption may be stimulated is one of its chief legacies to us.

Numerous other measures have been adopted under category No. 4. But these things, striking as they are, are peripheral to the central problem. All depend, after all, on the over-all performance of our economy in producing, distributing and offering employment.

Our findings in regard to this performance, brief and general as they necessarily are, nevertheless indicate rather clearly where we stand. We have provided enough money and have found many ways to set it in circulation through government spending. These activities have rescued the national income from the depression low, but have not sufficed to increase it anywhere near to the level that would be commensurate with our productive capacity. We have been relatively unsuccessful in starting private enterprise on a steady rise, and especially in stimulating an expansion of new investment such as is essential for the growth and health

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Shoot the Works

A Sock for Garner

THE VICTORY OF MAURY MAVERICK down in San Antonio is a political event of major significance. It is quite true that Maury was running for mayor and that the issue of local good government was much under discussion. But neither in Texas nor in Washington was there any doubt that here was the sampling of a cross section and that the New Deal itself was getting a return bout in a place where it met with a very vital reverse in the congressional elections of 1938.

It is safe to say that May 9, 1939, was one occasion on which John Nance Garner did not go to bed early. And "that man in the White House" very likely stayed up for the returns. Maverick's defeat last year was one of the most punishing suffered by the New Deal. Not only did it have repercussions throughout the Southwest and the South, but it removed from the House one of the most able of the liberal leaders.

Paul Kilday, who is now in the House, is a colorless candidate but he had the backing of very important interests. A great deal of money was used in the campaign against Maverick on both occasions. The mayoralty fight must have been a great satisfaction to him because his opponent, C. K. Quin, the current mayor, was in everything but name Maury's opponent in the congressional election.

But most of all, New Dealers will rejoice in the body blow which has come to the prestige of John Nance Garner. The hostility between Maverick and the Vice President is a matter of long standing. The moment Maury came to Washington the quarrel began. The personalities of the two men are not compatible, but it went far deeper. A congressman from the South is expected to take his orders and directions from Garner. The bloc is extremely well organized and disciplined. The Old Man passes the word along on all measures which seem to him important.

This situation, of course, was the cause of the so-called "purge" campaign in 1938. Commentators who thought that Roosevelt was going out of his way to pick a fight simply didn't know their political onions. Nothing more unfair has ever been bruited about than the familiar charge that the President wanted a rubber-stamp Congress. As a matter of cold fact, he was fighting for the constitutional rights of the national executive. Within the framework of our system an invisible government had been set up. Southern Senators and Representatives paid scant heed to presidential messages. They waited for word from whispering Jack. The Cactus King was an absolute monarch and it was his intent to sabotage F. D. R.'s entire program.

One of the most significant votes of Maverick was his support of the anti-lynching bill. He was the lone Southern representative to support it. This, of course, was high treason to John Nance Garner. He didn't make speeches against Maverick, but he moved in a devious way his revenge to perform. The quality of Garner, the leader, has deflated. The New Deal marches and Maury Maverick backwoods statesman, but he is one of the most proficient back-room politicians America has ever seen.

In the newspapers there has been a great amount of building him up as a kindly and shrewd old gentleman who meets all problems with a smile. The Garner grin is strictly for public consumption. He does no laughing when he lets the word go out to all the boys as to what they must and must not do. As one who spent an afternoon in Uvalde, Mr. Garner's home town, I can testify that the native who is asked what he thinks of the big boss invariably glances around in all directions to see if anybody is looking.

His power is applied through many intricate channels and the kingdom which he has claimed is a large one. San Antonio is practically at Garner's doorstep. It is only one hundred and fifty miles away, and as they judge distances in Texas that is no more than a commuting jump. When Maverick refused to bow down and worship good old Garner he felt the impact of retribution sharply. Cactus Jack most distinctly had a thumb in the election in which Maury was defeated. It is true that he made no speeches against the Congressman, but every business man in San Antonio knew what Garner wanted. Business men in Texas do not think it healthy to cross the will of the Vice President.

The method used against the New Deal leader was familiar enough. His opponents called him a Red. San Antonio was asked to save itself from Moscow gold and remember the Alamo. But for its tragic consequences this would have been pretty humorous. Maverick, who was tossed about as an outside agitator, is a Texan to his toes.

William Green was enlisted. The fact that Maverick was respected by the CIO as a friend of labor was enough to damn him in the eyes of the president of the AFL. In effect Mr. Green agreed to back anybody against Maverick, no matter what the labor record of that candidate might be. In a direct way this cost Maverick no votes at all. The rank and file of the AFL voted for him just as solidly as the rank and file of CIO. But it was good ammunition for the local merchants. "Look," they would say, "this man must be a radical. Honest American labor will have nothing to do with him. William Green says so." And much was made of an untrue tale that Maury had spoken constantly at meetings with a young girl orator who caused a great stir among the workers during the pecan strike. According to all the newspapermen of San Antonio, she was a perfect whizz-bang as a speaker, but as a matter of fact Maury never had an opportunity to meet her or to hear her.

In many circles Maverick's comeback will be considered an upset. In fact it is surprising when one considers the power and ramifications of the organization which fought him. But it is not news that Garner's hold upon Texas has been vastly exaggerated. Probably he still has much power in his control of Chamber of Commerce groups and such like. But the young men and women of Texas most distinctly are not for him. A poll last winter at the University of Texas showed Garner trailing far behind Roosevelt in a presidential tally. Among agricultural and industrial workers Garner is not potent. The progressive tide in the South and the Southwest, which seemed to have been stemmed in 1938, rises again. The Garner boom has been devalued and

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Washington Notes

The Leopard's Spots

IT IS NOW POSSIBLE to tell something about the hidden story of the administration's attempt to reach an understanding with business—the so-called appeasement move of last December. It is known, for example, that, during Secretary Hopkins' enforced absence from Washington because of illness, members of his supposedly New Deal business advisory council took it into their heads to give hearty, public endorsement to reactionary changes in the National Labor Relations Act. The council hastily assembled in Washington, and it required the most strenuous efforts of White House advisers to prevent the endorsement from being voted. Another incident concerns a dominant personage in the National Association of Manufacturers. Unexpectedly, he made overtures to the administration. Invited to Washington, he exuded amiability. Later he was discovered busily putting pressure on Administrator Andrews of the wages-and-hours division to grant exemptions to the food-processing corporations. Apparently when General Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears, Roebuck, retired a few days ago from his unofficial post of liaison man between Secretary Hopkins and business, appeasement came to a definitive end.

This does not mean that relations between the White House and Wall Street are broken. The "hate-Roosevelt" sentiment that exists among corporation heads never seems to prevent them from visiting Washington whenever they think they can wangle a favor. There are also many New Dealers who are vaguely titillated when they are asked to sit next to $100,000,000 at dinner in a Washington hotel or a quiet Georgetown home. It seems to be a fact, however, that the New Dealers have once more, perhaps permanently, abandoned hope that business will voluntarily accept the New Deal program. A White House adviser who has had to spend much of his time for the last four months in listening to business visitors reports sadly that their suggestions for restoring properity always boiled down to two things: the retirement of Mr. Edwin S. Smith from the NLRB and the lowering of taxes.

The business organization friendliest to the New Deal seems to be the American Retail Federation, before which Mr. Roosevelt will speak in a few days. The social-mindedness of this group is apparently due to a man who died two years ago, Mr. Edward A. Filene, the great Boston merchant. Today the most important figure in the American Retail Federation is Mr. Louis E. Kirstein, for many years Mr. Filene's loyal associate. Filene's personal force is a thing astonishing to contemplate. A full generation ago, he was crying out against the waste and stupidity of business, and pushing ahead multitudinous plans of reform. He was shouting New Deal-flavored slogans when Mr. Roosevelt was being outfitted with his first long pants. Though he is dead, his influence has definite political weight. New Dealers hope that Mr. Roosevelt's appearance before the American Retail Federation will serve as an antidote to the savage meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce. While New Dealers are resigned to the fact that big business is against them, they quite genuinely do not want to be drawn into a war with medium-sized and little business. Many White House advisers would like to see the administration push a program of loans to small business men. Mr. Jesse Jones of the RFC has had the authority to make such loans for many months, but New Dealers think that he is more anxious to establish a record as a canny steward of public funds than to help get business moving again. The scheme most generally favored by New Dealers is one under which the federal government would insure loans to small business up to 90 percent, much as the FHA now insures loans for home-building.

The last few days have seen a great slackening off of the assault on the National Labor Relations Board. As suggested above, the chief target of both business and the AFL has been not the act itself, but the Board members, especially gallant, fiery Ed Smith. The nomination of Mr. Leiserson to fill the post of Mr. Donald Wakefield Smith has had an astonishingly calming effect. Mr. Leiserson is a stout partisan of labor, but his peaceable, bespectacled gaze, and his benevolent-looking pipe, which continuously goes out and has to be lit again, apparently bewitch the toughest-spirited employer.

This relaxation of tension seems to have been, in part, responsible for the abortive negotiations for changes in the National Labor Relations Act between Chairman Madden and General Counsel Fahy of the NLRB and Messrs. Padway and Frey of the AFL. This observer is ready to believe that they were undertaken in a sudden let's-fix-it-up spirit following a chance meeting of Mr. Fahy and Mr. Padway at a congressional hearing. Nevertheless, the talks were regarded as a kind of treachery by the CIO, as well as by Mr. Ed Smith. Partisans of the CIO scoffed at the idea that the meetings were the result of accident. They said that the AFL had been pushed into them by Mr. John L. Lewis' publication of documentary evidence of collusion between it and emissaries of the National Association of Manufacturers. Compromise is often a wise business, but—in support of the CIO's objections—it is perhaps true that, no matter how trivial the legal changes, it would have blunted the NLRB's fighting zeal, which it possesses above all other New Deal agencies.

It is my sad duty to report that, as the visit of their Majesties approaches, a feeling of nausea is rising in Washington, especially among the gentlemen and ladies of the press. The reception of President Somoza, early this month, was recognized as a full-dress rehearsal of what we may expect next month. For most of one day, the city was under military rule, and reporters, along with a majority of their fellow citizens, instinctively dislike War Department brass hats. The resemblance of Washington to Berlin on Hitler's birthday was widely remarked.

Soon afterwards, Lady Lindsay, wife of the British Ambassador, issued cards, along with rules for guests, to the Embassy garden party. In all innocence, the rules were made identical with those for garden parties at Buckingham Palace. When their Majesties descend from the Embassy

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fore them, no one is to approach their Majesties, no one is to attempt to speak to them unless their Majesties graciously condescend to speak first, and so on. No doubt these rules work very nicely at Buckingham Palace; those who have attended garden parties there report that they are very pretty affairs indeed. But among American reporters, they have evoked a long boo.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Travel Notes

I HAVE JUST come upon a yarn in Chicago about the resourcefulness of the Chicago promoter when he has his back to the wall. Certainly he has his back to the wall now and the worst of it is he has to pay heavy taxes on the wall. This yarn has to do with an old Chicago building operation which got caught in the economic backwash of war. Mr. Uranus H. Crosby was a gentleman of means who decided that the new floundering Babylon on Lake Michigan had arrived at that pitch of wealth and culture that it should have an opera house worthy of its place in the world. And so he built the Crosby Opera House for $600,000—the most splendid temple of art west of New York.

But the Civil War made Crosby's road difficult. It boosted prices of labor and material. That is why the opera house cost $600,000, which actually consumed all or almost all of Mr. Crosby's fortune. The opera house was opened in the summer of 1865, with its handsome auditorium, stores on the street floor and the Chicago Conservatory of Music occupying part of the edifice. The conservatory embraced within its organization the father of Flo Ziegfeld. But Mr. Crosby was financially embarrassed and was unable to sustain the effort of maintaining the institution.

At this point a group of Chicago leaders, including such persons as Ogden, Fargo, Wilson and others, came to his rescue and the scheme they cooked up for the adventure is worth turning over in our minds.

First, they decided to rent part of the building for an art gallery and they brought to Chicago an impressive collection of pictures and statues to fill the new institution. Then they organized a lottery to bail Mr. Crosby out. The lottery was conducted by the Art Association. That association sold 210,000 shares at $5 each. Thus $1,050,000 was raised.

For his share the subscriber got first, a membership in the art gallery and second, a ticket in the raffle. Here was one of those lotteries where nobody could lose. To the shareholder went a membership and a choice of an engraving or etching, so that each shareholder got his money's worth. Then there were 300 minor prizes—all old paintings ranging in value, so it is said, up to $60,000. The grand prize was the opera house itself. Thus Mr. Crosby got his $600,000, the subscribers each got a $5 etching and a share in the cultural life of Chicago, 300 of them got oil paintings of value, the Art Association got several hundred thousand for its operations and one lucky person woke up one morning the owner of an opera house which had cost $600,000.

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farmer. When it was all over, of course, there was one fly in the ointment. The farmer was even less equipped financially to carry on the opera-house activities than Mr. Crosby. However, in due time—quite swiftly I believe—the opera house turned up again in the hands of Mr. Crosby. When the farmer got possession of his prize, he was quickly enough approached by interests of Mr. Crosby, who used a part of the $600,000 he had received to rebuy the building. It is said he did this for a couple of hundred thousand. Thus Chicago of the sixties, trapped in the depression following the war, solved the problem of one of its most illustrious promoters. Today, all over Chicago, are temples of all sorts lying idle, dark and blighted. Is it possible that this episode offers no food for thought to the bewildered entrepreneurs of this great city? Has the ingenuity that gave us Insull and Capone and the Twohy boys departed altogether?

It would be difficult for a traveler in America to find many signs of the serious economic troubles of the country. One sees little or no evidences of unemployment, although there are as many out of work as there were in 1931. The stores are filled. The signs of business activity are all about you. Looking out of a train window back in 1932, I saw everywhere the marks of advancing dilapidation—unpainted barns and houses, leaning farm buildings, falling fences; and in the cities, vacant shops with their dark, unclean show windows, dirty streets, shabby people. But today the countryside looks neat. The barns have been renovated, the houses painted, the fences mended. There are not so many vacant stores.

The reason for this is a little singular. It is not that we are prosperous. We have at least eleven millions idle and investment has almost stopped. The motor in the capitalist system idles dangerously. And nothing stands between us and an appalling catastrophe but the deficits which the government spends to keep the system afloat. A person looking for sinister motives might suppose that the nation had actually made a studied effort to hide its true condition under an external appearance of brightness and neatness. He might suspect that we had acted upon the principle that if you save the surface you save all. This is not true.

In our effort to keep the system from utter collapse and to make work for the idle we have spent our government money on the surface. We have tidied up the parks, tidied up the fields, given and loaned money to the farmers to paint their structures and fix their fences. We have conducted national rehabilitation campaigns, built parks, paved streets and fixed roads. And the idle have been brought in off the streets. They are now concealed behind the walls of their homes, while the money thus spent has filtered into the hands of other members of the population. The effect of all this, of course, is to make things seem far brighter than they really are. Yet we know that if tomorrow the administration withdrew $1,000,000,000 of its relief spending the whole thing would sink lower than it did under Hoover.

A news note in a Chicago paper carried the information that the taxes paid by U. S. Steel on last year's business would have employed 83,000 men in the steel industry. The impression is left that if the government hadn't taken the money the steel industry would have employed 83,000

more money have been available to pay dividends and larger salaries to officials? And, as a matter of fact, did not the tax money taken from U. S. Steel actually employ 83,000 men? What did the government do with the money? The great bulk of its money goes to hire people and to buy materials with which people are hired. It is a safe bet that far more men were hired with that tax money than would have been hired if U. S. Steel had been permitted to keep it.

JOHN T. FLYNN

The Bandwagon

The experiments are believed first to have been made with living beings, since, apparently, protests of the humane societies have hitherto kept the government from trying out the explosions on animals. – *From an account of the British government's tests of steel backyard shelters' resistance to bombardment, printed in The New York Times.*

Edouard Daladier represents the genuine native French character. . . . He has a realistic sense which does not permit him to exaggerate the importance and effectiveness of treaties, even when he himself has signed them. – *From the State Department's bulletin, "The American Foreign Service."*

Not to Mention Any Names

"The danger of military conflict was all the greater" from the Czecho-Slovak republic, Hitler asserted, "as there was always the possibility that some madman or other might get control of the vast stores of munitions. This involved the danger of immense explosions." – *From The New York Times.*

Do Slow Passes Get Results?

While Miss Ilda's father doesn't let Masako go out in the evenings at Ochiai, he agreed with the Central Raw Silk Association's plan to send her to America, said Mr. Ariga, "because a Japanese girl is hard to fall in love with. It takes time." – *From an interview in The New York World-Telegram.*

Double-Header

The annual meeting of Glendale Council of Church Women will be held Friday, April 28, 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. in the Glendale First M. E. Church. Mrs. H. M. Horn will speak in the morning on "Migrants" and Mr. Emory Ross in the afternoon on "Lepers." . . . You can't afford to miss it. – *From The Glendale, Calif., Presbyterian Chimes.*

Each Bead a Tear

He, the winged arrow, the steel arrow of Spain, sent down Ave Maria rosaries fashioned in iron which restored to Spain's territory the limpid Christianity that is native to its soil. – *Eulogy of one of Franco's bombing pilots, Garcia Morato, recently broadcast from Burgos.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Slum Problem

SIR: The slum problem is a dual problem. Any attempt at solution must take account of two sets of pairs:

First, poor families now living in poor dwellings; second, slum reclamation and provision of decent low-rent dwellings.

Family rehabilitation is practically impossible so long as the family lives in a hovel. Good housing alone will not meet the needs of a family that lacks food and clothes. Progress toward solution of one is conditioned by progress toward solution of the other.

So long as slums exist they will be occupied. So long as they are occupied there will not be an adequate supply of decent dwellings. The first question in slum reclamation is, "What is the best use for this site?" The first question in provision of low-rent housing is, "What is the best location for these dwellings?" The answers to both questions may be the same. Or, the answer to the first may be, "Commercial, industrial, recreational"; the answer to the second may be, "A less densely settled area or even vacant land." If so, the answer to the first question may create new values that will greatly reduce net costs, the answer to the second may reduce initial costs and assure more stable values.

The problem is one of making the best use of the city's area.

JOHN ILLDER,
Executive Officer, the Alley Dwelling Authority

The Third American Writers' Congress

SIR: In the last two years, writers in other countries have sacrificed their lives and suffered exile and imprisonment. They have proved that the preservation of every form of culture is inseparable from the struggle of the people everywhere against those forces that seek the death of liberty in our time.

We can report that the League of American Writers, since its formation as a national organization at the congresses of 1935 and 1937, has increased its membership fourfold, and has worked actively in behalf of democratic culture wherever threatened. At the coming congress we shall consider the media, markets and associations by which we may increase the effectiveness of our professional aims. In particular we shall consider the question of how mass audiences can most effectively be reached by existing media, such as motion pictures, radio and television.

The call to the Third American Writers' Congress goes forth at a time when the world fears the outbreak of more invasions and wars. We address ourselves to all professional writers who recognize the need to face the immediate problems—technical, cultural and political—that confront them today, and warmly invite them to attend.

We shall discuss the following subjects, and shape a policy in relation to them:

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anti-Fascist policies of the present administration; support for the labor unions; coöperation among all democratic and progressive forces; opposition to race prejudice; to attacks on social legislation and to efforts to cripple or abolish the Federal Arts Projects; in general, the defense of a free world in which writers can function.

We propose these subjects as a framework for discussion at the Congress, while welcoming further suggestions—if they are sent promptly. The Congress will be held in New York City, on June 2-3-4. Writers planning to attend it should get in touch with the Executive Secretary of the League of American Writers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

DONALD OGDEN STEWART, President; ALINE BERNSTEIN, Treasurer; PHILIP STEVENSON, Secretary; FRANKLIN FOLSOM, Executive Secretary; Vice-Presidents VAN WYCK BROOKS, ERSKINE CALDWELL, MALCOLM COWLEY, PAUL DE KRUIF, LANGSTON HUGHES, MERIDEL LE SUEUR and UPTON SINCLAIR

Commonwealth College

SIR: Down here in the foothills of the Arkansas Ozarks, Commonwealth College continues to function—with its usual ups and downs. A current big Up is the acceptance of nomination on our National Advisory Committee by Tom Mooney, Granville Hicks, Cedric Belfrage, Lucien Koch and Gordon Ward.

A recent Down was the loss by fire of one of our two dozen frame cottages, carrying down with it our museum of social research and valuable library stores. A gadfly sting on hide that's pretty tough by now is the attempt of some Arkansas club women to have the Dies committee investigate us.

In the meantime we are announcing two courses that may interest some of your readers. Beginning May 15, we will offer six weeks of short intensive work in the courses given in more detail to the regular students—Political Economy, Union Organization Problems, Union Office Methods, Current History, Farm Labor Problems and Public Speaking. Students enrolling for this short term will participate in Labor Drama and in the social, recreational and community features of this enterprise. Tuition is $30, the student earning board, room and laundry by helping in the industrial work of this school on a farm.

The second feature is an eight-weeks summer term beginning July 4. The regular courses will be capped by a weekly series of lectures by distinguished guest lecturers—Carl Haessler of the Federated Press, Bill Sentner of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and others, on such subjects as the International Scene; the CIO; the South Today; the Plantation and Sharecropper System; Culture and the Labor Movement; the Youth Movement. Tuition is $60, students as always sharing in the industrial work.

Mena, Ark. DAVID BEARDSLEY

"Highest I ever made in one week was eleven dollars and the lowest was seven dollars and forty-two cents. I usually hit in between and make eight or nine dollars. Now and then somebody will say, 'We ought to have us a union here of some sort.' That kind of talk just makes me mad all over. Mr. Pugh is a Christian man. He brought his factory here to give us some work which we didn't have before. We do pretty well, I think, to stay away from that kind of talk."—*Non-union mill worker*

from THESE ARE OUR LIVES

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The Federal Art Project

SIR: Every intelligent citizen should be aroused by the continued attempts to discredit the accomplishments of the Federal Art Project. Facts and figures present incontrovertible evidence of the tremendous influence this project has assumed in developing a long suppressed cultural consciousness in the American people.

Only a fraction of one percent of the total WPA funds are allocated to maintenance of the Art project. Yet the returns on this investment have been greater, in point of view of general public benefit, than from any other WPA agency. Not only have professional artists been given a chance to survive, but through their activities millions of Americans have been given pleasure that otherwise would have been denied.

Settlement houses have been enabled to carry out extensive cultural programs, psychiatrists, through the creative efforts of mental patients, have been afforded an aid for better understanding and treatment; public buildings, schools and hospitals have been beautified—these are only a few of the ways in which the Federal Art Project has filled gaps in our national life. It must not be allowed to die. Rather, on the foundation it has laid should be erected a permanent edifice of a broad federal art program.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL,
Chairman, Executive Committee
New York City of Friends of Federal Art

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Oscar W. Heimlich, associate editor of Building America, 425 West One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, New York City, sends a copy of his magazine's special civil-liberties issue. It is a first-rate job. Building America is a non-profit publication sponsored by the Society for Curriculum Study, composed of school superintendents, principals, college professors, classroom teachers and educational specialists. The magazine is used in the junior and senior high schools throughout the United States. . . . Albert Pucci of Granville, Illinois, suggests that Max Lerner has been more than kind in his explanation of Charles A. Beard's "attenuation of the economic interpretation of history" (May 10). Mr. Pucci suggests that Dr. Beard may have leaned over backwards in his fear of being labeled a Marxian. . . . Dorothy Hill, director of the Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley, Massachusetts, describes the program that will be discussed there from July 8 to 22. "How Can We Make Democracy Work?" will be the central theme of the discussion period. Dr. John Stewart Burgess will serve as chairman of the conference leaders, who include Leroy Bowman of the Consumer Coöperative Movement, Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Benjamin Marsh of the People's Lobby, Joel Seidman of the League for Industrial Democracy, and J. M. McDaniel, professor of Economics at Dartmouth.

William Schack, 439 West One Hundred and Twenty-third Street New York City, who is completing a biography of the artist Louis N. Eilshemius, would like to hear from those who have had any personal associations or correspondence with him, especially in his younger or middle years. . . . Morris U. Schappes of the Department of English at the College of this City of New York, sends a long and funny letter griping about Otis Ferguson's suggestion that Mickey Rooney be sent to Amherst: "Unless Mickey Rooney is to grow up to be a Robert Donat or a Charles Boyer, he should not go to Amherst. He should go to CCNY." Mr. Ferguson, on the other hand, admits that higher education is getting to be a mystery to him. "They

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Books in Review

Epitaph for Scribner's

So SCRIBNER'S is going the way of almost all the other general monthly magazines. McClure's, Everybody's, Appleton's, Hampton's, Lippincott's, Munsey's, Hearst's International, The Metropolitan, The Century—there used to be dozens of them, highbrow or lowbrow, quality group or popular group; and at least in the muckraking period they all had something to say. Few of them are left, in 1939, and still fewer are read with any excitement.

What was the cause of their sudden decline? Some of them suffered by competition from the movies and the radio, but others had disappeared even before the movies became popular. Most of them, I think, started with principles and perished from a business paradox. In order to reach a big audience, they had to sell at a low price. In order to sell profitably at a low price, they had to carry a lot of advertising. In order to carry a lot of advertising, they had to please their advertisers—including those malefactors of great wealth whom they had recently been exposing. They became so commercial in spirit, so timid and deferential toward those in power, that they lost their audience, their profits and their reason for existence, all at one stroke.

Of course there are a few hardy survivors. The American Magazine still succeeds by telling how local boys made good, and Harper's by giving people something to argue about (and by being generally the best of its class). The Forum and The Atlantic Monthly still publish interesting articles, I suppose, and there must be people who subscribe to The Cosmopolitan and Red Book, although both have disappeared from the table in my favorite barber shop. But with these exceptions, the general monthly magazines have died of anemia and are buried in the library stacks.

Their place has partly been taken by the weeklies, which have a real advantage in these days when history is rewritten over the week-end. But chiefly it has been taken by specialized magazines of various types—by magazines dealing respectively with home and mother, house and garden, fashions for women, fashions for men and intermediates, fiction for morons (all-Western, all-detective, all-romance, etc.), news in capsule form, news in photographs, sport in photographs, movies and radio, the bigness of big business, and the best articles of the month condensed into not more than 1,500 words each. All the magazines that have succeeded during the last few years belong to one of these specialized categories. It is still too soon to describe the influence on the public of the new journalism; but already it has had a visible effect on the profession of letters.

Each of the general magazines used to support—or help to support—a large staff of independent contributors. Each of them was glad to discover new talent, provided that it was not embarrassingly new. The result was that free-lance writers could get a start in their careers and support themselves afterwards; some of them made a quite comfortable living. Today they face a different situation. Most of the outside sources. Their different formulas are so elaborate, and in some cases so peculiar, that they find it safer to depend on their own hired hands. Writers as a class are being subordinated to editors. Several magazines have ceased to sign the articles they publish; in some cases they could not honestly sign them unless they included the names of a dozen writers and research workers who have pooled their ideas, their information and their talent in order to produce a feature story on Leather Belting or Migratory Labor. The magazine achieves a personality at the expense of its contributors. And these are left with two choices: either to write for a salary—if they can get it—or else to find some new market that hasn't yet been trustified.

Now that Scribner's is gone, all the free-lance writers will mourn for it. Not so long ago it was keeping a dozen talented youngsters alive by giving them books to review. That was before the Federal Writers' Project, and also before the magazine was remodeled; but it never ceased paying excellent rates to those who were lucky enough to have their articles accepted. The owners say that Scribner's will be resumed in the fall if they can find new capital; I wish them luck. Meanwhile there is a point to be made about its brief or permanent disappearance.

Among the general magazines, Scribner's had stood somewhat apart. It had gone along for fifty years without being much affected by contemporary fashions; it had neither attacked business in the muckraking days nor praised it in the back-slapping days that followed. Most of its reputation was due to the writers it published—Meredith, Henry James, Howells, Kipling and Stephen Crane; then Hemingway, Faulkner and Wolfe in the 1920's. It was a distinction to be printed in Scribner's, and something of a distinction even to read it. For a long time the magazine had been losing money, but the publishers believed in it and the deficits were always met.

Recently it was taken over by a new group, the Harlan Logan Associates, who transformed it completely. They modernized its format, beginning with the cover. They modernized its contents too, by putting the accent on personality and pictures and making a fairly successful effort to keep away from ideas. It became a general magazine in the sense of being a composite picture—you could recognize features borrowed from Time, Fortune, Life, The American; there was even a touch of Readers' Digest, considering that it printed a novel of the month condensed into 15,000 words (and what would Henry James have said to that?). Scribner's was making a scientific effort to meet the public taste, and apparently the effort was succeeding. Then suddenly came the news of its suspension.

The point I am trying to make is that as long as Scribner's had a quality of its own, depending on the type of writing it published, there were people willing to make sacrifices in order to keep it alive. As soon as it began to imitate the new mass-circulation magazines, it had to have a mass circulation. It had to be judged by standards of strict business accounting. It had to make a profit on pain of de-th

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It Reads Like Fiction

The Power House, by Benjamin Appel. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.75.
Captain Horatio Hornblower, by C. S. Forester. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.
Sailor Comes Home, by Howard Clewes. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. $2.
Peace, It's Wonderful, by William Saroyan. New York: Modern Age Books. $2; paper, 50 cents.

AT THE END of Benjamin Appel's "Brain Guy," Bill Trent had got himself control of a gang of "kids" and was all ready to sit back and take crime easy. In "The Power House" he gets tired of being a cat's-paw for the big man on the West Side (Appel's locale is still roughly the Hell's Kitchen district of Manhattan). The big man cuts Trent in on the syndicated whorehouse business and for a while the money is important and quick. But Trent sees it coming more and more clearly: a very big bad man on the East Side is just biding his time until all the houses have been bonded into one smooth monopoly, when he will simply take over. Trent is only being advanced so that he will be out in front when the East Side is eliminated—after which he will be eliminated himself.

Getting out while the getting is good, he takes a big chance in a comparatively new racket he has discovered through an odd job here and there. He buys away an experienced man from one of the big industrial-relations outfits and starts a strikebreaking agency of his own. He underbids to get business and is banking everything on a job in a Pennsylvania steel town, and the rest of the book is the story of operatives, stools, finks and nobles—and the defeat of Trent by the union. This part of the book could have been written from the minutes of the La Follette committee, and probably was. It is accurate and exciting, but it comes a little late: there are already too many characters and issues involved, and the large effect is dissipated.

Appel has a lively command of habits and jargons and the types of people you meet. He also has a humdrum prose quality that bogs him down whenever action stops. Descriptions are cluttered; he has a deaf writing ear ("Bill's brain bonfired"—"Spite spat inside of him"); and the stale flat smell of life in poolrooms and cheap hotels is an aid to the effect only when it doesn't seem blown in your face for its own sake or because there's nothing else. Appel is at his best in rough action, in telling every detail of how the deal was put over, in making understandable the various kinds of men and women hidden in our national woodwork. His best is valuable enough to us so that there would be profit all around if he'd be content to leave it at that.

The publishing of "Flying Colors" completes a trilogy written on the adventures of a captain in the Royal Navy during the later Napoleonic wars (available now in one 662-page volume). To those not subject to reader's seasickness, it is a fascinating job, because C. S. Forester assumes that every detail of a ship's life in action as planned, commanded, seen and felt by its captain is rightful material for a story. Also because he can pile his details up swiftly [illegible] never need have seen a [illegible] of British naval affairs in that period and knows what it takes to sail a ship in any period; and his fiction (quasi-historical in pattern) has the solid feel of truth.

Captain Hornblower was first engaged in some pretty wild happenings off Central America, then was given a command in the Mediterranean squadron, then was taken captive to France after some more wild happenings, and finally made an even wilder escape down river to the sea, returning a national hero. It is a good yarn in its own right, but the central figure is what really holds it together, Hornblower being one of the most interesting captains in fiction. Humiliated by his poverty, distrustful of his motives and capacities and always in fear of being afraid, or seasick, or ridiculous, or giving away to his humane sympathies and loquacity, he inevitably retreats behind the harsh formality of command and acknowledgment. So in the book a good part of any action is the captain's pacing and struggle with himself. At the same time he is the ideal commander, with a mind that calculates each present fact and future chance second by second, in terms of tide, wind, light, distance, relative speeds and all the more complex mechanics of ships under sail and guns in action—and men within the ship as well. Although some of Hornblower's mannerisms and obsessions are too insistently pointed up, he truly dominates the book and the reader's sympathies.

But the bare bones of history often emerge to confuse fiction. Accounts of the various actions of the Baltimore-clipper masters in 1812 must always dim the "greatness" of a captain who comes running a light, smart frigate up under the fifty guns of a ship of the line, to swap broadsides at twenty-five yards and get his own top blown off for his pains when he could have maneuvered the scarecrow dizzy. And there is something queer about the four-to-one engagement in Rosas Bay, where the odds could have been four-to-two, or later made fairly equal by cutting-out parties or whatever. Outside of these things and the rather stiff handling of romance in one or two spots, there is no fault to be found. The jingoism is only natural to the period, and the period is so naturally filled in that reading is not only a pleasure but a lesson in human history and an implicit statement of the inhumanity, heroism and criminal waste of nations at war.

"Sailor Comes Home" is a well and closely put together story of family tragedy in a Welsh mining town—so well and closely done that it is hard to realize you have learned so much about these people in the one night the book covers, without strain. The sailor returns from a twelve-year absence: his father has been paralyzed by a fall; his mother is trying to make the few shillings' pension do by keeping shop in a town out of work; his sweetheart has become bitter and is living with a Negro stevedore; his brother is an agitator and general no-good.

The sailor is in that port only by chance: he had been the family favorite, but the family hadn't heard from him. He had been eleven years in jail. Old jealousies, reproaches, needs come rapidly to a head in the cheerless parlor and kitchen behind the store, and while the final outcome might be that of a melodrama, the author has kept his voice down too well, and his people too shrewdly seen in their natures and environment, for that. The only false note is in the

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scapegoat of the piece. It is a pretty grim and hopeless story, a cold gray night in a village almost dead; but I picked it up for light reading and didn't put it down.

The twenty-seven new Saroyans in this seventh book show the author's growth in discipline and ease in the form (for example, he doesn't have to write that he is a great writer until page 117, an almost final triumph over doubt). Saroyan's form isn't that of the plotted story, where things happen from a beginning through a middle toward an end. Nothing "happens": he jumps full-tilt into the middle and full-tilt out, like a kid hopping a truck. Though he has done much with it, it is not particularly his: it is the artful form of no-form that has served so well for the expression of the last ten, fifteen years, translating an attitude, a thing, a person seen, an incident or mood or wisecrack, into the running terms of fiction. Static in development, its motion is toward a completed effect in feeling. It is halfway between excerpts from a novel—the form which gathers and carries all effects like a river—and the familiar essay, which is an entire effect in itself.

Saroyan's natural, vivid prose style and that exuberant appetite of his ran wild at first, resulting mainly in cock-a-doodle-doo. But he has been getting out from under that gradually, developing control of subject and a sterner selection, by trial and error and prolific work. He still can get such a jag on over his own words that he imagines them to have said something ("crazy, absurd, magnificent . . . ridiculous and beautiful fight"); and the life-is-death-how-vast-I'm-laughing mysticisms still enter here and there to confound reason ("Comedy Is Where You Die and They Don't Bury You Because You Can Still Walk"). But "The Same as Twenty Years Ago" and "The Warm, Quiet Valley of Home" are so bright and complete in their mood as to be almost a new kind of writing; "The Year of Heaven" and "Piano" and the one about the new Jack London stand out too. The fact is that, whatever the proportion of actually good single pieces, there is a reader's continuity in this book—probably because of the world Saroyan makes for himself, lives and works in. It is a cockeyed world, but very close to the common things and people of the countryside; the book somehow makes you feel good about them.

OTIS FERGUSON

Human Ecology

Social Ecology, by Milla Aïssa Alihan. New York: The Columbia University Press. 280 pages. $2.75.

HUMAN ECOLOGY is destined to become, I believe, one of the most important guides to the social sciences. Like all other disciplines dealing with human conduct, it is not likely to achieve the stature of a strict science. Its significance lies first of all in the nature of the questions which it raises, and second, in the fact that ecologists are obliged to operate synthetically, drawing material from all the sciences that deal with human life.

The basic questions which social ecology raises are: (1) What accounts for the concentration of populations at certain geographical sites? (2) Likewise what [illegible] tion to be explained? (4) What forces combine to cause segregations within given areas? (5) What prompts one group to invade the region already occupied by another group? (6) How is the succession of one group by another to be interpreted? The ecologist invariably begins his researches with a map. If he is studying a boys' gang in a particular neighborhood, he begins with a circumscribing map; he begins with geography. When he proceeds to explain why this group of boys behaves the way it does, he reaches for tools from the comprehensive chest of anthropology, ethnology, politics, history, social psychology and individual psychology. He functions as a synthetic specialist. His reasoning proceeds from regions, areas and zones to races, culture complexes, social attitudes and personality factors.

In the present volume, Dr. Alihan assumes—rightly, I believe—that the results of ecological studies must be appraised in the light of the special brand of social theory that dominates the thought of the ecologist. Her book may be viewed as a sort of sociologist's panel, with Professors Park and Burgess doing most of the talking. Their panel colleagues are prominent American sociologists, such as McKenzie, Wirth, Bernard, Gee, Anderson, Dawson, Zorbaugh, Galpin and Thresher. While these disputants strive to define their terms, Dr. Alihan stands aside as a sort of conceptualistic critic whose task is to point out inconsistencies, incongruities, anomalies and contradictions. She performs her critical function well; she operates with sharp, logical instruments. Now that she has completed this project, she might turn her discriminating logic to what seems to me a more necessary undertaking.

American sociology is beset with the chronic disease of *conceptualities*. The cure for this ailment is not more and more disputation about categories but rather more and more practical studies leading to usable facts. Younger social scientists, who should know more about philology and semantics than their elders, should be set to work in the field. What is needed is a breakdown of academic categories into current social realities. Ecologists may not be able to tell us precisely why dictatorships arise readily in one area and are stubbornly resisted in another, or why so many strange economic and social doctrines originate in California, or why racial antipathies obtrude at certain points and not at others, but certainly these are problems for future statecraft, and surely social ecology can cast a little light into these dark recesses of our perplexed world.

Another background for social studies is the sort of social theory which is concerned with the relation between human aspirations and the kind of collective experience which may be used in achieving them. We stand on the threshold of a new and profound alteration of human habits and social processes. To the degree that a given society is founded upon science and technology, it stands in need of expanding its consciousness into the sphere of economic and social planning. Human ecology, in a planned society, will eventually be equated with the broader scope of animal and plant ecology. Ultimately it will become a program for developing human resources in association with material resources. It is my prophecy that social ecologists will occupy a strategic position when our faces are turned hopefully in this new

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Viking on the Prairie

O. E. Rölvaag: A Biography, by Theodore Jorgenson and Nora O. Solum. New York: Harper and Brothers. 454 pages, illustrated. $4.

O. E. ROLVAAG was a heroic and single-minded man. He had no educational advantages in the poor family of Norwegian cottagers to which he was born, in 1876. At fourteen he had to go to sea. Until he was twenty he fought the surf and faced the capes as a fisherman; then he emigrated to America. Here he became a farmhand in a Norwegian community in the untamed Dakotas. After sweating and toiling for three harvests, he had saved enough money to enter Augustana Academy. Selling books and husking corn helped him to graduate by 1901. Then he registered at St. Olaf College, where he distinguished himself in Norwegian literature and also managed, despite his janitor's job and parochial-school teaching, to write a novel. A year later he joined the faculty.

He began to be ill from overwork. After slight rests he went on. In the next few years he married, carried an enormous academic schedule, constantly exhorted Norwegian church and social groups not to lose their cultural identity, edited numerous texts, published a book of letters (1912). But always fiction was his aim. An unsuccessful novel appeared in 1914. Some years later this intense but not fanatical Lutheran was shaken by the drowning of his five-year-old son. "Pure Gold" and "Boat of Longing" (published in the thirties) were written soon afterwards.

Brooding and determined, Rölvaag then (1923) obtained leave of absence, went alone to the North woods and composed his saga, "Giants in the Earth." Here his Viking spirit was embodied in the powerful Per Hansa, even as his heartbreak took form in the insufficient figure of his wife, Beret. Sequels followed. In 1931 Rölvaag died. This biography is slow and compelling, as he was himself, and careful in its criticism. It might have been interesting to see its subject related to the immortal Joe Hill, to Sandburg of the second generation and to the American realists in general. Nevertheless, the bitten and faithful Rölvaag won't have to be "done" again.

JEROME MELLQUIST

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New Haven, Connecticut

Escape into Waiting

Escape into Life, by Erika and Klaus Mann. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 398 pages. $3.50.

WHEN GERMANY put her writers into concentration camps, she stored up a lot of trouble for herself; and when she drove the writers out beyond the borders she scattered her trouble all over the world. For now, in the next war there will be no need to invent German atrocity stories.

During the last war, great quantities of atrocity stories were published in the United States. Most of them were obligingly supplied to us by the British propaganda service and most of them were falsehoods which people simply sat down and concocted. That method of propaganda did not fool everybody; there were many people who smelled the fiction in the stories. But they'll have to believe the stories being written now, and to be written when the next war comes. They won't sound like fiction.

Schrecklichkeit is no longer a product of the imagination, but a fact, a policy, proclaimed by Germany's leaders, attested by the best possible of conscientious, professional witnesses. For what are writers but witnesses, and what is their job but observation and narration? And when the impossibly gruesome news comes out of Germany, who better than Germany's exiled writers can interpret this news, explain it, fit it into the comprehension of a horrified world? And more, Germany's exiled sculptors can give this news its true form, the painters can give it true color, the musicians can give it true tone, the scientists can find its true place in the uneasy scheme of things. Germany's Dark Age is dark only in Germany; her eyes, ears, mind have been driven out for us to observe, to understand with.

There they are, the exiled voice and mind, described by Thomas Mann's children, Erika and Klaus Mann. The voice and the mind belong to men and women: poets, physicists, scientific writers, journalists, orchestral conductors, actresses, graduate students, Jews, Protestants, Catholics; blond and dark, radicals, liberals and conservatives, even some reactionaries whose particular kind of reaction was not the Nazi kind. There are among them great artists and savants, there are also imitators and followers. Some were in London when the Reichstag burned, were told they had better not go back. Some escaped when the Nazis came. Some spoke and fought to the very end and were put into concentration camps, and were broken there before being released; you see them sometimes in Paris, in London, in New York, looking like houses after a fire, the walls still

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politicals; they were bibliographers, or they wrote children's stories; they were driven out too, or they couldn't stand it and they went away. A selective plague has swept over Nazi-owned Germany, picking out the wise and the honest, and has either killed them or driven them out.

They say they escaped into life. But exile is a sorry life. It wasn't so hard on the scientists. Research has a language of its own, and European and American universities have been glad to give jobs to German scientists. But it isn't a life for the writers whose own language is now being hurled from Berchtesgaden at a nervous world. There are German printing presses in Amsterdam and Geneva, there is a daily German newspaper in Paris; a theatrical company led by Erika Mann has played more than a thousand times in six countries. Some writers have adjusted themselves to living away from home. Their books have been published in foreign-language versions; they are earning a living somehow, in some way. But as a group, as a whole, representing a great tradition and a great culture, they have lost all their functions but one.

Until they go back, they are witnesses to a world wrong.

NATHAN ASCH

Gorky's Humanism

A Book of Short Stories, by Maxim Gorky, edited by Avrahm Yarmolinsky and Baroness Moura Budberg; Foreword by Aldous Huxley. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $3.

"MAN" WAS THE WORD that Gorky used most often and with most concern. His artistic career, illustrated by the fifteen masterpieces collected in this volume, was a process of arriving at a criterion of human value. As a young writer, the leader of an entire regiment of minor Russian folk novelists and sentimental writers of the "populist" school, Gorky was aware of his lack of such a criterion. His humanism was intense and profound; his artistic perceptions were various, acute and original; but he needed what he called "some *unifying feeling* . . . a well founded, clear thought, embracing all the phenomena of life." He was restricted, he felt, to impressionism. He could record only what he himself had seen and felt and thought; he was as yet unable to comprehend dissimilar and contradictory experiences, and to give them unity and complete meaning.

In his earliest and most famous stories—"Chelkash," "Creatures That Once Were Men," "Twenty-Six Men and a Girl"—Gorky relied altogether on his natural humanism to make coherent the flood of impressions which he recorded. Sometimes he could not avoid intruding this humanism, in the shape of bald comment, into his stories. In "Chelkash," written in 1884, the moral comments almost overwhelm the poetic content of the story. But increasingly as he mastered his medium, and as he developed his "clear thought," Gorky was able to assume certain fundamental ideas without ever actually stating them. By means of his peculiar poetic impressionism he could endow the characters of his mature stories—outcasts stripped of all social attributes—with the profoundest democratic humanity, comparable only to that of Lear and Ahab.

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velopment. These companion pieces were written in the 1920's, during his last creative period, at a time when the outcome of the revolution was still in doubt. They are translated into English for the first time in this volume; and on their account alone this book is remarkable. Gorky's preoccupation with the ethical problem, his association with Lenin, led him finally to restate his early vague humanism in the definitive language of communism. He had begun by writing about social outcasts; at the end he was writing about society itself.

"The Hermit" portrays a naturally good man who knows nothing about society, who knows "only how to love." "Karamora," on the other hand, is an evil personality, and yet a thoroughly social being who has no ideas and no values not social in their origin, none that could have arisen outside of society. The first was a crackpot innocent in a cave, an ugly peasant saint, the source of his existence "a limitless, an inexhaustible love." The other was a revolutionary egoist who had become an *agent provocateur*, an absolute cynic to whom solicitude for people "is mere mechanics—gravitation towards masses." Goodness excluded from society; evil employed by it. Gorky seems to be saying that humanity, alienated from itself within its own social relations, can become human again only as socialized humanity.

MICHAEL SAYERS

New Books: A Reader's List

WAR IN OUR TIME, edited by Hans Speier and Alfred Kähler (Norton, $3). A collection of papers by the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, analyzing and describing the far-reaching repercussions—social, political and economic—which a future Great War may be expected to have on every phase of our individual and collective existence.

THE NEW INQUISITION, by Konrad Heiden (Alliance, $1.50; Modern Age, cloth, 50 cents). The story of the pogroms in Germany last November. Mr. Heiden has assembled a mass of material which points to a Nazi blueprint for the ultimate extermination of the German Jews. A somber and terrifying book.

SOLDIER OF THE CHURCH: The Story of Ignatius Loyola, by Ludwig Marcuse (Simon and Schuster, $2.50). A book that would be a first-class test of Loyola's conquest of temper, if it could be sent to heaven. The leader of the counter-Reformation, who refined personality into the most impersonal of instruments, is put through such spectacular stages on the road to sainthood as would have made him dismiss himself from the Society. A good deal about sixteenth-century university life and power politics that is well worth reading, but no conception of the phenomenon of genius called sainthood.

HERE IS NEW YORK, by Helen Worden (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). A guided tour of Manhattan's White Ways and by-ways. Although the book offers an agreeable and even useful mélange of odd wares, from amusing anecdotes to a short history of Tammany, the New York Miss Worden presents is merely picturesque. World's Fair filler.

ALL IN THE DAY'S WORK, by Ida M. Tarbell (Macmillan, $3.50). The life work and personal credo of a veteran historian and biographer, now eighty-one and still active.

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she was the second-greatest of the muckrakers. But Miss Tarbell also tries to defend her eulogistic biographies of Owen D. Young and Judge Gary, which might better have been forgotten.

HELEN HUNT JACKSON, by Ruth Odell (Appleton-Century, $3). The first full-length biography of the author of "Ramona." Miss Odell handles it with a stern regard for accuracy, a wealth of careful detail and little grace.

SAN FRANCISCO: WEST COAST METROPOLIS, by Edwin Rosskam (Alliance, $2.50). A personality sketch in words and pictures. Mr. Rosskam's photographs catch the feeling and essence of the city from the fog to Fisherman's Wharf, and his text manages to be both amusing and informative without using clichés.

A KEY TO NEW YORK, by Rosalie Slocum and Ann Todd (Modern Age, 95 cents). A comprehensive, well organized list of things to do and places to go in and around Manhattan, with emphasis on museums, zoos, amusement parks, trips, tours, etc. Tells when, how and how much. For parents and teachers.

THE OREGON TRAIL, by Members of the Federal Writers' Project (Hastings House, $2). A comprehensive list of places along the Oregon Trail, the alternate route and some side trips, flavored with a fascinating story of the Mormons and much hitherto unpublished material about trappers, gold-diggers, pony-express riders, Indians and other frontier figures.

ME, by Brenda Ueland (Putnam's, $3). Lively, egotistical reminiscences of a woman who went through life expecting something of any old day. She dabbled in art, went Bohemian in Greenwich Village, skidded in and out of marriage, elbowed her way into writing and made it pay. Now, at forty-six, she is very high-spirited about it all.

QUARTET, by Emil Ludwig (Alliance, $3). Translated by Ernest Boyd. Romantic entanglements of four middle-aged, gifted people in a Swiss villa. They escape from life into a private world of love and beauty and mystic conversations about both. But it's all too weighed down by soulful analyses to serve as much of an escape for the impatient reader.

DRUMS AT DUSK, by Arna Bontemps (Macmillan, $2.50). The background of this novel is the Negro uprising led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti. It's an exciting, stormy era that deserves skillful handling, and Mr. Bontemps never lets it down. He also adds a couple of full-dress French villains, and makes a little love affair act as if it really belonged there.

Contributors

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, author of "The Ramparts We Watch," is a widely known military critic and lecturer on military affairs.

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